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El Rio Del Espíritu Santo

III

(Continued from July)

To the second group of maps belong those which show the course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo long before there was any knowledge of it, if this river is the Mississippi. Thus on the already mentioned Cortés map, one of two large rivers flowing due south is called Rio del Espíritu Santo, and three small rivers form the headwaters of the longer one a hundred leagues from a twenty-league bay into which both large streams empty. It is manifest that this map, merely because it shows the course of these rivers, cannot be adduced as evidence that the Rio del Espíritu Santo is the Mississippi. Obviously, the fact that the course of a river appears on a map does not prove that the river represented was actually explored. In the first place, we know that early mapmakers, except for such official cartographers as those of the Casa de la Contratación, had many reasons for drawing the full course of rivers, though the models which they were copying represented only the mouth. A drawing of the entire course, however fanciful, would call attention to the hydrography of a given region much more emphatically than would a mere legend inserted near an indentation in the shore line. It would make the map "look better," and would even convey the suggestion that the map embodied the results of the latest discoveries. In fact, the titles of early maps sometimes make this suggestion explicitly to interest prospective buyers. Thus one of Allard's maps issued at the end of the seventeenth century is entitled: *Recentissima Novi Orbis sive Americae . . . Tabula*, although this "most recent" map is simply a reprint of another fifty years old. Moreover, if the appearance of a river's course on a map is taken as evidence that the river has been explored, we shall have to say that both the 500-mile rivers drawn on the Cortés map

had been actually traversed by explorers from mouth to source by 1523. Finally, those who maintain that the shorter of these rivers, legended Rio del Espíritu Santo, is intended to represent the Mississippi have to face the problems of identifying the second and longer river. We have already remarked that the professional geographers of the Casa were not misled by such fanciful representations. It may be noted in passing, however, that explorers were seriously led astray by relying on these maps in their journeys.

The portion of the Gulf shown on the Turin map¹ is a variant of that same portion on the Cortés map. The course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo as well as that of the longer river west of it is exactly the same on both. The place-names and their position on these two early maps of the Gulf differ as follows:

Cortés	Turin
Provincia amichel [Tamacho pruvia]	[principia amichel] tamacho princia
Rio panuco	Rio panuco
laoton	laotom
Tamacho pruvia [Provincia amichel]	[tamacho princia] Principia amichel
R. la palma	rio de mōtañas altas
R. de Arboledas	rio de la palma
pº de arrecifos	pº de arrecife
Rio del Spiritu Sancto	rio del espiritu santo

Whereas on the Cortés map the coast line runs in an uninterrupted arc from the Rio del Espíritu Santo to the southernmost eastern tip of the Florida peninsula, on the Turin map the coast line stops east of the river, and after a gap of 175 leagues comes the "Isla Florida." Only three sides of this "island" are shown, and the position of its south shore is six degrees too far north.

The nomenclature of the Gulf Coast on the Paris Gilt Globe² is partly similar to that on the Cortés map, with the addition of latitudes and longitudes. The northern coast line is above the fortieth parallel, and the mouth of the "R. de S. Spiritu" is shown emptying into a bay at latitude 42°, the latitude of Chicago. In-

¹ Stevenson, *Maps Illustrating*, no. 6; facsimile in color in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 2.

² Nova et integra universi orbis [sic] descriptio, in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle, avec le texte explicatif*, Paris, 1892, *Atlas*, pl. 21. The changes on the "facsimile" in the *Discovery of North America*, 562, are inexcusable.

stead of being at the western end of the Gulf, this bay is located next to the Florida peninsula, where present-day Apalachee Bay is situated. The Rio Pánuco is represented as a huge stream flowing eastward. The Tamacho Provincia is on the northern bank of this river, as it is on the Cortés map; on the south bank, ten degrees from the Gulf Coast, we find Cathay (China). This globe expresses the conception of its maker rather than the actual geography of the Gulf, and is quite useless as far as the identification of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is concerned.

The double-cordiform globe of Finaeus belongs to the same category.³ As on the Paris Gilt Globe, America is joined to Asia forming a single continent. The nomenclature is that of the Cortés map. The bay into which the "R. de S. Spu" empties has its entrance above latitude 40°, and is situated, as on the Paris Globe. The river is drawn north-south for ten degrees, beginning from James Bay; there the river forks, and the headwaters of the two branches, about five degrees north of the latitude of present-day James Bay, are four hundred miles apart.

The geography of the Gulf on this map is another example of the manner in which even professional geographers, like Finaeus⁴ relied on their own idea rather than on data supplied by accounts of voyages. Even if the latitudes were all lowered by ten degrees, and if the coast line were thus brought near its true position, the portion of the river represented would extend as far north as Chicago, and it is certain that no exploration of any river emptying into the Gulf of Mexico had been extended so far at this time.

The dozen place-names along the Gulf Coast on the Ulpius Globe⁵ are taken from maps based on those of the cosmographers of the Casa de la Contratación. The course of the "R. de S. Spu" extends over about five degrees, with its mouth at the northwest end of a bay situated in the northwest corner of the Gulf. A second stream of equal length empties into the same bay at its northeast end, and is called "R. Gvadalqvibir." The earliest dated map on which this latter name appears is that of Mercator of 1541. The course of a great river which empties into the same bay

³ Nova, et Integra Universi Orbis Descriptio, in N. A. E. Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas to the early History of Cartography*, Stockholm, 1889, pl. XLI; a part of this globe reduced to Mercator's projection is in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 11. In 1538, Mercator copied Finaeus' globe, cf. Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.*, 90, and pl. XLIII, photographic reproduction in *Revista de Indias*, Año II, 1941, no. 4, between pp. 100-101.

⁴ Cf. L. Gallois, *De Orontio Finaeo Gallico Geographo*, Paris, 1890.

⁵ Reproduced in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, facing p. 349.

at the same point is shown on the Vopellio map in Girava,⁶ but no name is given to this river.

An undated Agnese map also belongs to this group.⁷ The early Spanish maps which he had previously copied contain only the names and mouths of various rivers. On this one, besides using the nomenclature of these maps, Agnese represented some of these rivers as arising in the foothills of a huge mountain range which runs in an immense arc from a point in the east between latitudes 35° and 40° toward the southwest and then south past Mexico City, from which point it runs in a southeasterly direction as far as the Bay of Campeche. One of these rivers is the Rio del Espíritu Santo, which is represented as flowing due south for 400 Italian miles, almost six degrees of latitude, until it empties into a bay called "B. del Spirito S^o della Colata." The mistaken name given to this bay has already been discussed.

This Agnese map, by the way, serves to illustrate the point which we have already noted; namely, that the appearance of the course of a large river marked Rio del Espíritu Santo on a map is no proof that this river is identical with the Mississippi. For although the Mississippi is admittedly the largest river that empties into the Gulf, the Rio del Espíritu Santo as drawn by Agnese is no larger than the four others which he represents as emptying into the Gulf along its northern coast line.

Notwithstanding its artistic merits, the map attributed to Jacopo Gastaldi and first published in Venice in 1554,⁸ cannot be taken as a reliable representation of the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast nor of the hydrography of the interior. The river which occupies the position of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is left nameless and the bay into which it empties is called "Baia de todos Santos." The "R. de Canoas" which is located near the western end of the Florida peninsula on the early Spanish maps is here shown as a large river, much longer than the Rio del Espíritu Santo, ending in Apalachee Bay.

The source of the nomenclature of the interior on the map

⁶ *Tipo de la Carta Cosmographica de Gaspar Vopellio Medeburgense, in Hieronymo Girava, Dos Libros de Cosmographia*, Milan, 1556; reproduced in Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, pl. XLV.

⁷ Title and references *supra*, 192, note 3.

⁸ Reproduced by F. Muller and Co., eds., in *Remarkable Maps of the XVth, XVIth & XVIIth Centuries reproduced in their original size*, 6 parts in 4 volumes, Amsterdam, 1894-1897, I, pl. 1-4; also in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 10a. The question of authorship is discussed by Nordenskiöld, *Periplus*, 146-147. H. R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, 2 volumes, paged continuously, Berkeley, California, 1937, 279, lists it under Tramezini, the name of the printer.

engraved at Amsterdam in 1562 by Jerome Cock is discussed below, as are also the distortions which place-names underwent.⁹ The hydrography is open to the same criticisms as is that of the maps previously described. The course of the Rio del Espíritu Santo is drawn, but other rivers east of it are also drawn, the longest of which empties west of Apalachee Bay, while the second longest has its mouth east of this bay and is called "R. de Juan Ponce." This latter name is evidently borrowed from a bay near the lower west end of the Florida peninsula, and no river of the same name appears on any map prior to this date. The arbitrariness of the engraver is all the more noticeable because he keeps the "B^a de Juāponce" in its traditional place between the 26th and the 27th parallel.

The Italian maps published between 1560 and 1570, as for instance those engraved by Berteli¹⁰ and by Zaltieri,¹¹ are simply artistic fantasies. Zaltieri's map, for all that pertains to the nomenclature of the Gulf Coast and the hydrography of the region north of it is a cartographical freak. None of these maps contains any reliable information whatever, and one cannot help wondering what model the draughtsman had before him when he was delineating the Gulf, and what was the purpose of issuing such bizarre productions.

The maps of the Portuguese cartographer, Fernão Vaz Dourado,¹² insofar as the nomenclature of the Gulf of Mexico is concerned, are all based on variants of the Spanish *padrón*. On the earliest of these maps,¹³ the "Rio do espirito Samto" disembogues in a bay at latitude 30°; there is a fork in the river three and a half degrees farther north, the two branches of which extend to latitude 37°, the top of the map. On another of his

⁹ *Americae sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio; Atlas brésilien*, no. 8. The map is dedicated to Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma, the regent of The Netherlands from 1559 to 1567.

¹⁰ One dated *circa* 1560, has no title and is reproduced in *Remarkable Maps*, I, pl. 10; the other is entitled: *Universale Descrittione di tutta la Terra Conosciuta fin qui . . . Paulo Veronese fecit. Ferando berteli Exc 1565*, *ibid.*, IV, pl. 3.

¹¹ Original in the E. Ayer Collection, reproduced in Nordenkiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, 129, and in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 451.

¹² On this mapmaker, cf. Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses*, II, 7-28.

¹³ *Univercalis et Integra Totius Orbis. Hidrographia Adversisimam [sic] Lvzitanorum. Traditionem. Descriptio. Ferdinand Waz Dovrado. In Cevitate Goa. 1568.* This atlas, in the Library of the Duke of Alva, Palacio de Liria, Madrid, is described by Cortesão, *op. cit.*, II, 28-41; the map of the Gulf of Mexico is the ninth, and is reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien*, second memoir, no. 3. A photograph of the original is in the Karpinski Collection.

maps,¹⁴ the same feature reappears: one branch comes directly from the north, the other from the west-northwest. The latter branch flows out of a large lake into which empty seven rivers. At about latitude 37°, the north branch receives a tributary coming from the east. Another large but unnamed river coming from the northeast also ends in this bay. This map also shows the course of other rivers which empty into the Gulf, though only their mouths are indicated on Vaz Dourado's previous maps. His map of 1571,¹⁵ with its network of rivers, tributaries, and sub-tributaries, looks more like an arabesque than like an actual map. The fact that on two subsequent maps¹⁶ Vaz Dourado did not draw the course of the rivers at all may be taken as an indication of the importance which he himself attached to the hydrography of the earlier ones.

Mercator's map of 1569 also belongs to this second group.¹⁷ Because this planisphere is the first example of his famous projection, it is a landmark in the history of cartography; but, as we shall see, the contribution which it made to a knowledge of the geography of the southern United States is negligible.

An opposite view is expressed by Winsor, according to whom

¹⁴ The atlas, in which the map of the Gulf of Mexico is the second, is described by Cortesão, *op. cit.*, II, 68-77, and is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 18a; photograph of the original in the Karpinski Collection.

¹⁵ On the restored title of this atlas, cf. Cortesão, *op. cit.*, II, 41-54. The map of the Gulf is reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 22a, a black and white photograph of it in Cortesão, pl. XLII; partial reproduction of the original in the Karpinski Collection.

¹⁶ *Universalis et Integra Totius Orbis Hidrografia. Ad Verissimam. Lvzitanorvm. Tradicionem Descripcio. Ferdinādo Vaz. Este livro. Fes. Fernāo Váz Dourado*, British Museum, Add. MSS. 31317, actual size photostat in the Ayer Collection, described in Cortesão, *op. cit.*, II, 64-68. The Gulf of Mexico is the third map of the atlas; the title is written in a band around the map: "Nesta lamina esta lamicado todas as Amtilhas de Castela e nova Espanha ate a Florida"; reproduced in color in *Atlas brésilien*, second memoir, no. 4.—The other map of the Gulf by Vaz Dourado is in an atlas of 1580 preserved in Munich, reproduced in F. Kunstmann, K. von Spruner, and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas*, Munich, 1859, Bl. X, and in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 26b. In his description of this atlas, Cortesão, *op. cit.*, II, 58, pertinently remarks: "Embora todos os seus trabalhos obedecam a um tipo inconfundível, parece que Vaz Dourado tinha un Atlas protótipo, cuja parte meramente cartográfica foi aproveitando pera todos os outros, mas acrescentando-os e modificando-os conforme os novos conhecimentos geográficos adquiridos ou o fim a que os destinava."

¹⁷ *Nova et aucta orbis terrae descriptio ad usum navigantium emendatè accomodata*, in *Drei Karten von Gerhard Mercator. Europa—Britische Inseln—Weltkarte*. Facsimile-Lichtdruck nach den originalem der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau. Hergestellt von der Reichsdruckerei. Herausgegeben von der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, London, Berlin, Paris, 1891, 3 parts in 1 volume; Bl. 8 of the Weltkarte, third part, has the Gulf of Mexico; partial reproduction of this sheet in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, between pp. 376-377.

Mercator "was the first to map out a great interior valley to the continent, separated from the Atlantic slope by a mountainous range that could well stand for the Alleghanies. Dr. Kohl suggests that Mercator might have surmised this eastern watershed of the great continent by studying the report of De Soto in his passage to the Mississippi. . . ."¹⁸ As a matter of fact the geographical feature mentioned by Winsor did not originate with Mercator. It is found on the maps of Cock and Zaltieri already mentioned; all that Mercator did was to delineate the mountain range more sharply than his predecessors. This mountain range may be intended to represent the Alleghanies, but it should be noted that the geographer shows it coming from the north and turning first west at the 35th parallel of latitude, along which it runs for twenty-five degrees, then due south to latitude 28°; where it turns at a right angle to the east, sloping toward the Tropic of Cancer and ending at longitude 269°. The Southern United States is therefore represented as an immense amphitheater completely shut off from the St. Lawrence basin by this range of mountains, so that the only approach of it by land is from Mexico. This conception was taken over by subsequent map-makers, and its influence is manifest among theoretical geographers and even among actual explorers of this region for more than a century after the publication of Mercator's map.

In view of Mercator's dependence on Cock, which is especially noticeable in his use of identical nomenclature, the position of Winsor and Kohl is untenable. The only report of the De Soto expedition which Mercator could have known is the book of the Gentleman of Elvas, which had been in print twelve years at the time when the 1569 map was published. The source utilized by Mercator, however, was not this Portuguese narrative, but the map of Cock, as can be seen from the following table. The words italicized are clearly indicated on both maps as being names of towns,¹⁹ the names in roman are those of provinces or regions.

Cock 1562

Mocosa
Avacal
Canagali
Coruco

Mercator 1569

Mocosa
Auacal
Canagali
Coruco

¹⁸ J. Winsor, *Cartier to Frontenac. Geographical Discovery in the Interior of North America in its Historical Relations 1534-1700*, Boston and New York, 1894, 66.

¹⁹ The names of the four towns are also on Zaltieri's map previously mentioned.

Apalchen	Apalchen
Otagil	Tagil
Tierra Florida	La Florida
<i>Iguas</i>	<i>Iguas</i>
Calicuaz	Calicuaz
<i>Comos</i>	<i>Comos</i>
Cossa	Cossa
Capaschi	Capaschi
Monte Suala	

Such a perfect parallelism can hardly be a coincidence. The sources from which Cock derived this nomenclature will be ascertained below. We may here observe in passing that some of the names are recognizably identical with those which were first mentioned by the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition. Thus Mocosa is the Mocoço of Ranjel and Elvas; Apalchen is Apalache; Cossa is spelled Coça in Ranjel and Elvas, Coza in Biedma's chronicle, and Cossa on the so-called De Soto map; Monte Suala on the Cock map is the Xuala or Xualla of the chroniclers. In the case of other names, the distortion is too great to permit of more than probable identification. Thus Otagil, Tagil may be standing for Agile or Axile; Calicuaz for Coligoa or Coligua, Capaschi for Capachequi.

Another indication that Mercator's planisphere was compiled from maps then available is the following. Six degrees west of the Texas coast, on the northern bank of the Rio Pánuco, there is a town named Colaoton. In a previous section we called attention to the fact that the German engraver of the Cortés map inscribed "Rio panu-colaoton" on his map, and that the Italian engraver of the same map mistakenly read "colaoton" for "laoton" as the name of the region on the banks of the Rio Pánuco. On Mercator's planisphere the same mistake is repeated, and besides, the region is changed into a town 350 miles inland. It cannot even be said that this last mistake was original on Mercator's part, for he merely copied this legend from Zaltieri's map.

The similarities pointed out in the preceding paragraphs leave little doubt as to the sources utilized by Mercator. We must now attempt to ascertain from what source Cock himself obtained the inland nomenclature north of the Gulf of Mexico. He could, of course, have made direct use of the narrative of the Gentleman of Elvas, the only chronicler of De Soto's expedition whose work was then in print, but considering his distortions of

the names mentioned by Elvas, some of which we have noted in connection with the list given above, it is more likely that his actual source was a model map on which these names were misspelled or else so badly written that he had to guess at their spelling.

This presumption is seemingly borne out by the title of Cock's engraving as catalogued by the British Museum, where the engraving itself is to be found: "Americae, sive quartae orbis partis nova et exactissima descriptio. Auctore D. Gutiero. 1562."²⁰ This author of the original was Diego Gutiérrez, a member of the geographic department of the Casa de Contratación, about whom little is known.²¹ Few of his maps have come down to us in their original form. One, signed and dated 1550, does not have any inland nomenclature at all.²² The original of this map, which is in the Archives du Service Hydrographique, Paris, may have been made on an earlier model, otherwise we cannot readily understand how a map dated 1550 should lack nomenclature that was certainly known at this date by the cosmographers of the Casa. Now the coastal nomenclature which is found on Gutiérrez' map of 1550 is so difficult to decipher that many place-names can be identified only by their more legible appearance on the other early Spanish maps which were ultimately based on the same matrix as that of Gutiérrez, namely, the padrón in Seville. The Gutiérrez map from which Cock made his 1562 engraving may well have contained the inland nomenclature which does not appear on the 1550 map preserved in Paris; but these place-names would very likely have been so difficult to decipher that the distorted form given by Cock to the De Soto nomenclature is readily understandable. It is manifestly impossible to reconstruct the original map from Cock's engraving of it, for we have already seen an instance of his arbitrary way of altering the map which he engraved, and it is to be feared that he took similar liberties with the nomenclature of the interior as well as with the position of place-names on the map of Gutiérrez.

Thus the source of the orography and nomenclature of the

²⁰ Catalogue of the Printed Maps, Plans, and Charts in the British Museum, London, 1885, col. 1704, 69.810 (18).

²¹ There were two Diego Gutiérrezes, father and son. The author of this map is more probably the son. Cf. M. Fernández de Navarrete, *Biblioteca Marítima Española*, 2 volumes, Madrid, 1851, I, 342-343; Marcel, *Reproduction de cartes et de globes, Texte*, 108-109; Harrisson, *Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, 231-236.

²² Diego gutierrez cosmographo de Su mag^z. Me fizo enseuilla Año de 1550; ASH, 116-1, in Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes*, pl. 31-34. The reduction in the Karpinski Collection is too great to be of use.

southern United States on the Mercator planisphere of 1569 is traced back, through Cock's map, to a map made by a member of the Casa de la Contratación at some unknown date after 1550. With regard to the nomenclature along the coast, Mercator used his own map of 1541 as a basis, adding some place-names which are found on the earlier maps discussed in the previous section. That the hydrography of the same region was not derived from Cock or the reports of the De Soto expedition is clear from the following consideration.

Between the Rio Pánuco and the Rio de Perla, which is half-way down the west coast of Florida, Mercator's map represents the course of ten rivers, six of which empty into the Gulf on the north. Of these latter, the Rio de Pescadores is the longest; the Rio del Espíritu Santo, the second longest, empties not directly into the Gulf itself, but into a "Baia de Culata," which occupies the position of our modern Galveston Bay, twelve degrees west of the Gulf Coast of Florida. A comparison with Cock's engraving will show that these rivers as drawn by Mercator were not copied from Cock's; an examination of the reports of the De Soto expedition proves that Mercator did not make use of these reports, because the rivers on his map are neither named nor described therein.

In particular, it is impossible to maintain that the Rio del Espíritu Santo on the map of 1569 is the Mississippi. For although the latter river had been explored by the De Soto expedition twenty-five years before the date of this map, yet the Rio del Espíritu Santo is not represented as the largest river emptying into the Gulf, but rather as smaller and shorter than three other rivers, namely, the Rio de Pescadores, the "Palmar r." and the "r. Solo."

Mercator's map was widely imitated. Thus in 1570, a simplification of it appeared in Ortelius' atlas, but the exigencies of space prevented the draughtsman or the engraver from inscribing the names of the rivers along the coast. A map of the Western hemisphere²³ which appears in the same atlas includes a greater number of legends from the planisphere of 1569, but again the size of this map prevented the inclusion of all the geographical details found on the model. Certain changes of positions are purely arbitrary, and cannot be the result of a better understanding of accounts of travel, or of additional information about the country represented.

²³ *Americae sive Novi Orbis, Nova Descriptio, in Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Antwerp, 1570.*

Notwithstanding Thevet's grandiloquent assertions to the contrary, the map of the Western hemisphere²⁴ in his *Cosmographie Universelle* is purely and simply a copy of Mercator's map. Some of the latter's Spanish place-names are translated into French, while others, as in the case of Desliens, are Frenchified rather than translated. Many of the legends in the text of Thevet are copied from Mercator's planisphere, but are not inscribed in his map. On the east bank of the "r. d S. Esprit," Thevet has two small tributaries which are also marked on the map of the Western hemisphere of Rumold Mercator,²⁵ and which have been identified by imaginative writers as the Ohio and the Illinois rivers! This map of 1587 became well known, for it appeared in the numerous editions of Mercator's atlas. The map in Jode's atlas, dated 1589 and published four years later,²⁶ as well as Michael Mercator's map of 1611,²⁷ and many others either in print or in manuscript are all ultimately based on the planisphere of 1569.

The manuscript maps of Martines which are not clearly based on the Mercator model but yet show the course of some rivers emptying into the Gulf require special mention here.²⁸ They show the influence of Mercator insofar as the nomenclature of the provinces and towns of the country north of the Gulf is concerned, but the place-names along the coast line which are de-

²⁴ Le Novveau Monde Descouvert et Illustré de Nostre Temps, in *La Cosmographie Universelle D'André Thevet Cosmographe du Roy*, Paris, 1575.

²⁵ *Orbis Terrae Compendiosa Descriptio Quam ex Magna Vniversali Gerardi Mercatoris . . . Rumoldus Mercator fieri curabat A° M.D. LXXXVII*, reproduced in Nordenskiöld, *Facsimile-Atlas*, pl. XLVII, in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 33, in Winship, *The Coronado Expedition*, between pp. 388-389, etc.

²⁶ Totius Orbis Cogniti Universalis Descriptio, in [Gerard de Jode] *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*, [Antwerp, 1593].

²⁷ *America sive India Nova, ad Magnae Gerardi Mercatoris avi Vniversalis imitationem in compendium redacta. Per Michaelem Mercatorem Duysburgensem*, in the fourth edition of Mercator's atlas published at Amsterdam by Jodocus Hondius. The date, 1611, was changed into 1616.

²⁸ "The Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, with the eastern Coast of America from 46° north to the line," title from the *Catalogue of the Manuscript Maps, Charts, and Plans, . . . in the British Museum*, 3 volumes, 1844, I, 29. This map is no. 14 of an atlas of eighteen manuscript maps, Harleian Ms. 3450, it is reproduced in the Karpinski Collection, actual size photostat in the Ayer Collection. Cf. the maps of a section of North America and of the Gulf of Mexico in a Martines atlas of 1587, Madrid, Bib. Nac., CC 35 ER 6. nos. 14 and 16.—There is in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid a 1587 atlas by Chretien Sgrooten. The nomenclature is that of the Mercator planisphere, the rivers are all giant streams; the largest of all empties in the northwest corner of the Gulf and is called Rio de Pescadores. Its headwaters are at latitude 42°, in the foothills of a mountain range which separates the Floridan basin from the headwaters of subtributaries of the St. Lawrence.

rived from early Spanish maps, are more numerous than on the maps listed in the preceding paragraphs. As for the course of the rivers represented by Martínes, it is simply an exercise of imagination.

In the Jode atlas referred to above, there is another map of the northern hemisphere which differs from the planisphere in several particulars.²⁹ The most notable difference is that just west of the Rio del Espíritu Santo, there is a much longer and wider river called R. del Oro. One degree from its mouth this river divides itself into two branches with their headwaters 500 miles to the north in the foothills of the mountain range which encircles Florida. Its appearance is not unlike that of the Rio del Espíritu Santo on the Cortés map.

The above list of maps belonging to the second group is far from exhaustive, but nothing would be gained by lengthening it. From the examples given it should be clear that the appearance of the course of a river on a map does not mean that the map-maker entered it after studying accounts of travelers, nor does it mean that the river has been explored. All that can be deduced from an examination of the maps of the second group is that on many of them a river named Rio del Espíritu Santo empties into a large bay in the northwestern corner of the Gulf. We have seen that these maps are based on a few models, mainly the Cortés map of 1524 and the Mercator planisphere of 1569, and an analysis of these model maps makes it quite clear that the course of the rivers shown on them has little more foundation than the fancy of the cartographer. Consequently, the maps of this second group do not prove the identity of the Rio del Espíritu Santo with the Mississippi any more than do the maps of the first group. First, there is the bay into which the river empties. Geologists assure us that the Mississippi in historic times did not empty into a bay, but directly into the Gulf. Secondly, the position of this bay is shown on all these maps much farther west than the actual position of the mouth of the Mississippi. These arguments have already been presented in our discussion of the first group of maps, but they apply here as well, because the coast line, as shown in the second group is based on the same model as the first group, namely, the padrón in Seville. Finally there is admittedly no river emptying into the Gulf which is comparable in size with the Mississippi, and yet on many of these

²⁹ *Hemispheriū ab Aequinoctiali Linea, ad cirulū Poli Arcticī; also reproduced in *Atlas brésilien*, no. 35.*

maps other rivers are represented as longer and wider than the Mississippi actually is.

IV

Before studying the third group of maps, we shall briefly examine Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's account of his journey along the Gulf Coast from St. Marks' Bay to Galveston. This narrative is worthy of detailed study because it is the earliest account of an exploratory voyage along this section of the coast, and remained the only account for more than a century and a half.

In June 1527, Pamphilo de Narváez left Spain for America. This expedition is recorded on the Weimar map of that year, as the following legend on the map indicates: "Tierra que aora va apoblar panfilo de Narbaes." The earliest extant Spanish map which indicates the place where Narváez landed is the Cabot map, whereon the following note is inscribed near the legend "baya de miruelo" [Apalachee Bay], "Aqui desambarco panf^{lo} de Narvaez." This map is dated 1544, seven years after Cabeza de Vaca had returned to Spain with the news of the fate of the expedition. It is impossible to say whether the geographers of the Casa received a written report similar to that prepared by Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo for the Audiencia at Santo Domingo, or whether they used Cabeza de Vaca's book which was published in 1542, two years before the date of the Cabot map. It may be that the Spanish cartographers did not take Cabeza's report very seriously, for as has been observed, "there are few Spanish narratives that are more unsatisfactory to deal with by reason of the lack of directions, distances and other details, than that of Cabeza de Vaca."¹ Although the author of this comment is referring primarily to the route followed across the continent from Texas to Sonora, the Cabeza narrative is just as unsatisfactory with regard to directions, distances, and other details along the Gulf Coast.

As for the relative merits of the letter to the Audiencia and Cabeza's book of 1542, Bandelier says: "Oviedo, who gives the text in full of the letter handed to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo by Cabeza de Vaca and Castillo when they touched that

¹ F. W. Hodge and T. H. Lewis, eds., *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States 1528-1543*, New York, 1907, 7. This volume comprises three narratives, that of Cabeza de Vaca, that of the Gentleman of Elvas, and Castañeda's narrative of the Coronado expedition. Hodge edited the first and the third, Lewis edited the second.

port on their return to Spain in 1537, has used the 1542 print for comparison with that letter . . . [and] inclines in favor of the former."² He adds that the two accounts do not conflict "on important points" and that "on the whole the difference between the two documents is so slight that there has been no occasion to publish [in English] the Letter to the Audiencia also." There are, however, in this letter, important details regarding the location of the Bahía del Espíritu Santo into which the river of the same name emptied, which are not found in the book and which bear on the question at issue in this essay. Bandelier further remarks: "A very serious objection to the credibility of the three narratives,³ arises from the fact that all are based upon recollections only, and not upon journals or field-notes of any kind. It was, of course impossible for the outcasts, shifted and shifting from tribe to tribe, to keep any written record of their trip."⁴

Information of this sort would hardly be used by the official cosmographers for the padrón, as we can see from the following note which Gómara inserts at the end of his description of the American coast in his *Historia General de las Indias*: "The number of leagues and the latitudes set down by me are according to the maps of the royal cosmographers, who neither receive nor accept the report of any pilot except under oath and [when corroborated by the testimony of] witnesses."⁵ From the historical legend inscribed on the Cabot map, we know that the journey of Cabeza de Vaca was known to the geographers of the Casa; they certainly had the book and they may also have had a copy of the collective letter to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo. Yet, the only legend which distinctly refers to the Narváez expedition is this one on the Cabot map, which may never have been inserted on the official padrón at all. The attitude of the Casa toward all

² F. Bandelier, translator, *The Journey of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca*, New York, 1905, introduction by A. Bandelier, xiv.

³ Bandelier is referring to (1) the *Relacion que dio Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca . . .*, Zamora, 1542, reprinted at Valladolid in 1555, under the title *La relacion y comentarios del gobernador Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca . . .*; the *Comentarios* added to this edition are by Pero Hernandez, and relate to Cabeza de Vaca's career in South America. I have been unable to consult the 1542 edition, but according to Hodge the differences between the two texts are slight. (2) The letter to the Audiencia of Santo Domingo, in Oviedo, III, 582 ff.; this is an earlier account than the preceding one. (3) The "Relación de Cabeza de Vaca, tesorero que fué en la conquista," in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos, . . . sacados de los Archivos del Reino, y muy especialmente del de Indias*, 42 volumes, Madrid, 1864-1884, XIV, 269-279.

⁴ Bandelier, *op. cit.*, introduction, xvi.

⁵ Gómara, *Primera y segunda parte de la historia general de las Indias*, Fol. ix verso.

this information may be gathered from the following comments of Oviedo:

But in some way, I consider more trustworthy and clearer the relation of the three [the letter to the Audiencia] than the other [scl. the book] which only one wrote and which he published; as I say, I am taking from the [collective] letter and from what Cabeza de Vaca himself [told me] what is added to this chapter. They express themselves clearly and said what needed to be said, in spite of the fact that, as we have seen, having undergone such hardships they did not make a formal report or kept a record of their route, or through what latitudes their aimless wanderings took them. . . . I am not surprised at this, since the pilot himself, Miruello by name, was unable to guide them to the port which the fleet set out to find, and he was unable to tell them where he landed them or where they were. . . .⁶

Moreover, the very position of the legend on the Cabot map⁷ which marks the supposed landing place of Narváez is so far from accurate that it must have been based on conjecture rather than on actual sworn data, and this is a further reason why the geographers would not insert it in the padrón. Most modern writers locate Narváez's landing place "at St. Clement's Point on the Peninsula west of Tampa Bay."⁸ This identification is much too precise in view of the fragmentary and unsatisfactory evidence on which it is based, but we call attention to it because the same overprecision appears in modern accounts of Cabeza de Vaca's discovery of the Mississippi. It is readily admitted that

⁶ *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, III, 615.

⁷ "The Bahía de la Cruz of Narvaez' landing made identical with Apalachee Bay by Cabot, is likely to have been by him correctly identified, as the point could be fixed by the pilots who returned with the ships to Cuba, and would naturally be recorded on the charts. . . . Narvaez and his party evidently thought that they were nearer Pánuco, and had no idea they were so near Havana. Had they been at Tampa Bay, or on a coast running north and south, they can scarcely be supposed to have been so egregiously mistaken," Shea, in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 288. With regard to the position, Cabeza de Vaca distinctly states that Miruelo and the other pilots had no idea as to where they were. Gómara gave the conditions which were to be fulfilled before new discoveries were inserted in the official map. Moreover it should be borne in mind that the maps which have come down to us were not primarily intended to be used by the Spanish pilots. Most of these maps are artistic productions that give a fairly accurate, but general idea of the geography of the known world. Between these maps and the sailing charts given to the pilots there was a difference similar to that which exists today between maps found in ordinary atlases and the maps issued by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey or the British Admiralty.

⁸ W. Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States 1513-1561*, New York, 1901, 177 and Appendix J, 453-455, where the various opinions up to the time of publication are listed. Hodge, *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States*, 19, note 1, seemingly accepts this identification.

coming from the east and keeping close to the coast, the makeshift boats must have passed the mouths of the Mississippi, but whether the usually quoted passage in Cabeza de Vaca's relation designates the Mississippi is far from certain.

Miruelo was boasting when he assured Narváez that he knew the northern coast of the Gulf and the way to the Rio de las Palmas. After landing, he did not know where he was, nor where was the port near the Rio de las Palmas whereto he had promised to steer the ships. Two weeks later, Narváez held a council which Cabeza de Vaca attended. The commander told them that he intended to march inland, while the ships would lounge the coast to the harbor which they believed was not far distant. This plan was opposed by Cabeza de Vaca, but Fray Juan Xuárez was all in favor of it. He advocated going in search of the harbor which the pilots said was not more than ten or fifteen leagues from where they were in the direction of Pánuco. By following the coast they could not fail to come upon this port, because, they believed, the sea entered the land a dozen leagues.⁹ This port was the mouth of the Rio de las Palmas, whither Narváez first intended to go, and to which Miruelo had claimed to know the route. From what Xuarez is reported to have said, it is clear that the pilots were just as ignorant of the geography of the Gulf as Miruelo was, and it is little wonder that the geographers of the Casa would not enter on the padrón the Bahía de la Cruz where Narváez landed.

Returning from the Apalachee country, the expedition arrived at a bay called "Bahía de Caballos" by Cabeza de Vaca and which is identified as St. Marks' Bay.¹⁰ They left this place in the makeshift boats, September 29, 1528, and followed the coast "in the direction of the Rio de las Palmas," that is, they followed the west shore of Apalachee Bay, which runs in a southwesterly direction to Cape San Blas. Here the shore line begins to run northwestward, but Cabeza de Vaca does not mention any change of direction during the thirty days they followed the coast to a place where they "found shelter with much calm."¹¹ This place has been identified as Pensacola Bay. After the rough weather had subsided they "again embarked and navigated three days,"¹² at the end of which they entered an estuary (estero). If the previous stopping place is Pensacola, the estuary should be

⁹ *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States*, 22-23.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 37, note 2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 38, note 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 39.

Mobile Bay; commentators, however, omit to identify this place. After a brush with the Indians, the Spaniards put to sea followed by the natives hurling clubs and throwing stones at them "until mid-day."¹³

We sailed that day¹⁴ until the hour of vespers,¹⁵ when my boat, which was leading, discovered a point made by the land, and against a cape opposite, could be seen a very great river.¹⁶ I cast anchor near a little island forming the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The Governor did not want to come there, but entered a bay near by in which were many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea, for the stream entered it in freshet.¹⁷ To parch some of the maize we had brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days, we went on that island;¹⁸ but finding no fire-wood, we agreed to go to the river beyond the point, one league off. By no effort could we get there, so strong was the current,¹⁹ which drove us out, while we contended and strove to gain land. The north wind, which came from the shore, began to blow so strongly that it forced us to sea without our being able to overcome it. We sounded half a league out, and could not find bottom at thirty fathoms; but we were unable to satisfy ourselves whether it was the current that was the cause of our failure to find bottom.

Eight days after the adventure at the mouth of this river, Cabeza de Vaca and a few of his unfortunate companions were cast ashore on an island which is identified by some as Galveston Island, by others as Velasco Island,²⁰ just south of the former. The very great river with the strong current is "the Mississippi the waters of which were now seen by white men fourteen years before the 'discovery' of the stream by De Soto."²¹ This identification is made by the same author who identified Pensacola Bay, which was reached after a navigation of thirty days from St. Marks' Bay, a distance of 200 miles along the coast. The uniden-

¹³ *Ibid.*, 41. The Spanish text of the 1555 edition as well as the Bandelier translation of the 1542 edition of the *Relacion* were used to emend the translation published in *Spanish Explorers*.

¹⁴ Hodge, *Spanish Explorers*, 41, note 1, observes that "according to the Letter [to the Audiencia] they travelled two days more before reaching this point of land."

¹⁵ "Hasta hora de vísperas." Bandelier rendered this "until nightfall"; Hodge in *Spanish Explorers*, "the middle of the afternoon." The time of vespers, according to the season, varied between 4:00 and 6:00 P. M.

¹⁶ "Un río muy grande."

¹⁷ "Porque el río entraua en la mar de auenida"; Bandelier's translation: "because the river emptied into it like a torrent."

¹⁸ "Saltamos en aquella isla," namely, the island forming the point.

¹⁹ "Era tanta la corriente."

²⁰ *Spanish Explorers*, 57, note 2.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 41, note 2.

tified estuary was reached in three days and the Mississippi in one more day, which means that it took them only four days to travel 250 miles, and only eight more days to cover the 350 miles between the mouth of the very great river with the strong current to Galveston.

Only when the chronology of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative between the intermediary points of the two termini, St. Marks' Bay and Galveston, is compared with the distances does the difficulty of identifying these intermediary points become manifest. Even if we should take the time given by Oviedo—two days—between the estuary and the mouth of the very great river with the strong current, this would mean that they went from Pensacola Bay to the "Mississippi" in five or six days, or that the Spaniards in wretched boats, exhausted by fatigue and privations, managed to cover, in stormy weather, forty miles a day. Neither the greatness of the river, nor the strength of the current are of much use in identifying it, for Cabeza de Vaca uses the same words to describe rivers which are certainly not comparable with the Mississippi.²²

Cabeza de Vaca did not recognize the Mississippi—if that be the great river with the strong current—as the Rio del Espíritu Santo, although he knew that somewhere on the coast there was a river thus called which emptied into a bay of the same name, for both he and his companions looked for it much farther west than the mouth of the Mississippi. After meeting Dorantes, the survivors decided to remain on the island, but they "also agreed that four men of the most robust should go to Pánuco, which they believed to be near."²³ Dorantes, one of those who went in search of Pánuco, "followed the coast forty leagues farther," in a southwesterly direction and "passed three times by a bay (ancon), which he says he believes from its appearance to be the one which they call *del Espíritu Santo*." After crossing another bay with the help of the Indians, "they marched two leagues to

²² During the march in Florida, "llegamos a vn rio que lo passamos con muy gran trabajo a nado y en balsas: detuimonos vn dia en pasarlo que traya *muy grá corriéte*," *La relación y comentarios*, Fol. vii verso. Hodge identifies this river as "evidently the Withlacoochee which enters the Gulf at latitude 29°," *Spanish Explorers*, 25, note 3. "A aquella noche legamos a un rio, el qual era *muy hondo y muy ancho, y la corriente muy rezia . . .*" *La relación*, Fol. viii verso; according to Hodge, *ibid.*, 27, note 1, this was the Suwannee River. "Ya en este camino la auiamos descubierto por vn *rio muy grande* que en el hallamos, a quien auiamos puesto por nombre el *rio de la Magdalena*," *La relación*, Fol. xi verso; the St. Marks' River, according to Hodge, *ibid.*, 33, note 1.

²³ *Spanish Explorers*, 49. Cf. the letter to the Audiencia, Oviedo, III, 591.

a great river which was beginning to swell owing to inundation and rains";²⁴ they made rafts and had much trouble in crossing it, because there were few swimmers among them. From this latter bay, they marched three leagues to another very mighty and flooded river, which flowed "with such violence that fresh water went out very far into the sea."²⁵ Continuing their journey southward, the travelers crossed other "rios grandes," until they arrived at a bay which was "wide and about one league across; the side in the direction of Pánuco juts into the sea about one fourth of a league; it has huge hillocks of white sand, which must be seen far out in the sea, and for this reason they conjectured that it must be the *Rio del Espíritu Santo*."²⁶

In conclusion it may then be said that there is no more reason for identifying the Mississippi as the great river with the strong current spoken of by Cabeza de Vaca than there is for identifying it with the very large and mighty river mentioned in the royal *cédula* of 1521; and secondly, the narrative of Cabeza de Vaca certainly does not prove the identity of the Mississippi and the Rio del Espíritu Santo.

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(To be continued)

²⁴ "Hasta un rio grande que commençaba á crescer por avenidas é lluvias," Oviedo, III, 593.

²⁵ "Hasta otro rio que venia muy poderoso é avenido é con tanta furia que salia el agua dulce muy grand rato en la mar," *ibid.*

²⁶ Oviedo, III, 593. Speaking of the terminus of this journey, Oviedo notes: "é que assi llegaron al ancon ques dicho que creian ques el del Espíritu Santo," *ibid.*, 594. After leaving Malhado Island, Cabeza de Vaca crossed "el ancón y quattro ríos que ay por la costa, . . . y ansi, fuymos con algunos indios adelante, hasta que llegamos a vn ancon, que tiene vna legua de traués: y es por todas partes hondo: y por lo que del paresció y vimos, es el que llamá del spiritu sancto . . ." *La relación y comentarios*, Fol. xxii. See the variant in *Documentos inéditos*, XIV, 279.

José de Anchieta: "Apostle of Brazil"

Among the molders of Brazilian society in her pioneering period, the sixteenth century, six great figures stand out pre-eminently: the two heroic governors, Tomé de Sousa and Mem de Sá; Bishop D. Pedro Leitão; and the three Jesuit "Apostles," Manuel da Nóbrega, Luiz da Grã, and José de Anchieta. These men were the pillars upon which the Brazilian nation took form.

In the period when the new society was adapting itself to its new surroundings, it is no exaggeration to say, with Brazil's historians, that the Jesuits were the principal agents in the spiritual, intellectual, and cultural development of the land. The following pages are devoted to perhaps the most widely known of the Jesuit collaborators in the formation of Brazilian society: José de Anchieta.

I

The Anchieta bibliography is extensive.¹ Scarcely a writer who touches on early Brazilian history and literature fails to speak of him. He has attracted historians, Americanists, ethnologists, naturalists, doctors, students of literature, linguists, and poets. Among the people of Brazil he has become a legendary figure, and oral tradition is rich in stories about his charity, his miracles, his prophecies, his many heroic feats.

Although more has been written about Anchieta than about any other sixteenth-century Brazilian, the investigations of recent Luso-Brazilian scholars have made it increasingly clear that a scientific life of Anchieta remains to be written. Strange as it

¹ Although no comprehensive bibliography of Anchieta exists, useful bibliographies may be found in the following works: Robert Streit, *Bibliotheca Missionum*, 10 volumes, Münster-Aachen, 1916-1938, *et seq.*; Antonio de Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na Capitania de São Vicente," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico*, Rio de Janeiro, Tomo 105, Vol. 159 (1929), "Bibliographia," 15-26; *id.*, *Cartas Jesuíticas*, III, *Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos Históricos e Sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta*, S. J., (1554-1594), Coleção Afrâncio Peixoto, Rio de Janeiro, 1933 (hereafter cited as CJ, III), "Bibliografia do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, S. J.," 27-31 (this list, also printed in *III Centenario do Venerável Joseph de Anchieta*, Paris-Lisboa, 1900, 343-348, is taken from Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 11 volumes, Bruxelles-Paris, 1890-1932, I, 310-312, VIII, 1631-1632), 5-11, and *passim*; Affonso A. de Freitas, *Dicionário Histórico, Topográfico, Etnográfico Ilustrado do Município de São Paulo*, São Paulo, 1929, I, 159-163; Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 2 volumes, Lisboa-Rio de Janeiro, 1938, *passim*.

may seem, not a single satisfactory study of Anchieta, long or short, exists in English.²

The best sources for the study of the life and work of Anchieta are the contemporary records, civil and religious, which survive from his own lifetime, or shortly after. Especially important are Anchieta's own letters, reports, and other writings. His letters began to appear in print as early as 1555.³ Since then his writings have appeared in numerous publications, and most of them have long been available in various historical publications. Much material has been published in the *Annaes* of the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, and the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, published in the same city. Finally, in 1933, all the known Anchieta letters and reports were gathered together, carefully edited and copiously annotated, by the Brazilian scholar A. de Alcantara Machado in a volume entitled, *Cartas, Informações, Fragmentos Históricos e Sermões do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, S. J., (1554-1594)*. This is the best edition of Anchieta's writings.⁴

Biographies of Anchieta have been written in eight languages (Portuguese, Latin, Spanish, French, German, Italian, Flemish, and English). They range from brief sketches to full-length works. All the early biographies were by fellow Jesuits who wrote primarily for the edification of their companions, hence they emphasize Anchieta's heroic Christian virtues, his works of Christian charity, and his saintly and supernatural gifts. Little emphasis is placed upon his equally important role in the human sphere as one of the really great founders of Brazilian society. Of the early Jesuit lives of Anchieta, the two fundamental ones are those of his contemporaries Caxa and Rodrigues.⁵ All the later ones, which are too numerous to list here, are founded di-

² Mention should be made of *The Life of Father Joseph Anchieta, S. J.*, London, 1849; and "Anchieta," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1936, I, 487-488. The former, of which the latter is little more than a brief summary, is an English translation of Beretario, cited in note 6, below.

³ Cf. CJ, III, 28-29. Besides some of his letters, Anchieta's grammar, described below, was also printed during his lifetime: *Arte de grammatica da lingua mais usada na costa do Brasil*, Coimbra, 1595.

⁴ Cf. note 1, above, for complete title. Despite the excellency of this volume, Serafim Leite has stated that the letters translated from the original Latin should be critically revised.

⁵ Quiricio Caxa, *Breve Relação da Vida e Morte do P. José de Anchieta, 5º Provincial Que Foi Do Brasil, Recolhida Por O P. Quiricio Caixa, Por Ordem Do P. Provincial Pero Roiz No Ano de 98*. MS. First published by Serafim Leite in *Broteria*, Lisboa, XVIII (1934), 165-174, 253-265, and later in his volume *Páginas de História do Brasil*, São Paulo, 1937, 147-183.

Pero Rodrigues, *Vida do Padre José de Anchieta* (1607), in *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, XXIX (1909), 181-287.

rectly or indirectly upon these two accounts. Beretario and Paternina, whose biographies had a wide circulation, originated a few errors in the story which were later perpetuated by others.⁶ Sgambata, Astria, Monteyro, Oddi, and Baltasar de Anchieta added little to the story, with the exception of the last mentioned, whose work contains genealogical data not found elsewhere.⁷ Vasconcellos exaggerated;⁸ Franco summarized what his predecessors had written.⁹ Of the modern non-Jesuit biographies the most worthy of mention are those of Vieira, Calmon, Lima, B. Machado, and Alcantara Machado.¹⁰ However, these works, excepting the last two, differ primarily in style only. As Serafim Leite has stated, "A critical history of the lives of Anchieta would constitute an interesting study."¹¹

Among the sources for the study of Anchieta's life mention should also be made of many secondary works, popular and learned, that deal with the period,¹² including those that appeared on the occasion of the third centenary of the death of Anchieta in 1897,¹³ in honor of the fourth centenary of his birth in 1933-1934,¹⁴ and in honor of the cuarto-centenary of the

⁶ Sebastiano Beretario, *Josephi Anchietiae Societatis Iesu Sacerdotis in Brasilia defuncti Vita*, Lugduni, 1617; Esteban de Paternina, *Vida del Padre Joseph de Ancheta* (sic), Salamanca, 1618. Beretario's work was a Latin translation of Rodrigues, Paternina's a Spanish translation of Beretario, slightly amplified. Father Rodrigues lived to see these two editions, and on November 5, 1619, he commented on them, noting some of their errors. (Leite, *História*, II, 387, and 387, n. 2, n. 5.) A French translation of Beretario was published in 1619 (Streit, II, 747), and an Italian translation in 1621 (Sommervogel, I, 1326).

⁷ Scipione Sgambata, *Elogio del P. Giuseppe Anchietta della Compagnia di Gesù*, Napoli, 1631; Giovanni Battista Astria, *Vita del Padre Giosefo Anchietta della Compagnia di Gesù*, Bologna, 1643; Manoel Monteyro, *Compendio Panegyrico do P. José de Ancheta*, Lisboa, 1660; Don Baltasar de Anchieta, *Compendio de la vida de el apóstol de el Brasil*, Xerez de la Frontera, 1677; Longaro Degli Oddi, *Della vita del Ven. Servo di Dio P. Giuseppe Anchietta*, Roma, 1738. Most of these works went through several editions.

⁸ Simão de Vasconcellos, *Vida do Venerável José de Ancheta da Companhia de Jesus*, Lisboa, 1672.

⁹ Antonio Franco, *Vida do Admirável Padre José de Ancheta, Thau-maturgo do Novo Mundo*, (1719), Rio de Janeiro, 1898.

¹⁰ Celso Vieira, *Anchieta*, Rio de Janeiro, 1930; Pedro Calmon, *José de Anchietta, O Santo do Brasil*, São Paulo, 1930; Jorge de Lima, *Anchieta*, Rio de Janeiro, 1934; Antonio de Alcantara Machado, "Vida do Padre José de Anchietta," CJ, III, 541-560; Dr. Brasílio Machado, "Anchieta—Narração de sua vida," *III Centenario do Venerável Joseph de Anchietta*, 61-101.

¹¹ Leite, *História*, II, 387, n. 2.

¹² The most important of these may be gleaned from the references cited in note 1, above, and in the various articles on sixteenth-century Brazil which have appeared in volumes XXIV and XXV of MID-AMERICA (1942-1943).

¹³ Cf. especially *III Centenario do Venerável Joseph de Anchietta*; and comments in Leite, *História*, I, xxv.

¹⁴ Cf. especially José da Frota Gentil, *Vida Illustrada do V. P. José de*

founding of the Society of Jesus in 1940. These events revived interest in the general study of the Jesuits in colonial Brazil.

In discussing the Anchieta bibliography, special reference should be made to the writings of Serafim Leite, the prolific Jesuit historian and outstanding living authority on the Jesuits of colonial Brazil. Leite has had access to the important Jesuit archives of Italy (Rome), Portugal, and Brazil, and he has uncovered hitherto unutilized documents which have enabled him to correct many traditional errors and fill in a number of obscure gaps in the study of Anchieta's life. His works, some of them documentary volumes, and others copiously annotated and replete with quotations, from original Jesuit documents, take on the character of a source collection.¹⁵

The following remark by Leite might well be placed at the end instead of at the beginning of this introductory essay, which is aimed merely at breaking new ground and opening a broader horizon in Brazilian studies in this country: "A scientifically sound life of Anchieta is yet to be written."¹⁶

II

José de Anchieta was born on March 19, 1534, in the city of São Cristóvão da Laguna, capital of the island of Tenerife, in the Canary Islands. He was baptized in April of the same year, in the parish church of Our Lady of Remedies, in the same city.¹⁷

Anchieta, Nova Friburgo, 1933; Aníbal Mattos, *Joseph de Anchieta*, Belo Horizonte, 1934; Vicente Themudo Lessa, *Anchieta e o suplício de Baldeur*, São Paulo, 1934; F. Ogara, "L'Apostolo del Brasile Ven. Giuseppe Anchieta, S. I." *La Civiltà Cattolica*, anno 85, I (1934), 345-358; *Anchieta (Quarto centenario do seu nascimento)*, *Conferências lidas no Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 1933-1934*, Pôrto Alegre, 1935.

¹⁵ Most important for the life and times of Anchieta are his *História* and *Páginas*, previously cited, and his *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas*, São Paulo, 1940.

¹⁶ Leite, *Páginas*, 183.

¹⁷ Some authors, following Anchieta's first biographers, give the date of his birth as 1533. Some give the month as April and others March, those giving the latter date always giving March 19. However, in the baptismal records for the year 1534, as preserved in the church at La Laguna, among the entries for the year 1534 is found one which reads: "Jusepe hijo de Jñ de Ancheta y de su mujer fué bautizado en VII del mes de abril . . ." Thus we know definitely that he was baptized April 7, 1534. The baptismal record does not give the date of his birth. Leite appears to be fully justified in concluding, however, that he was born on March 19 of that same year, for nearly all agree that he was born on March 19, and in the sixteenth century, in Spanish territory, it is highly improbable that Catholic parents would wait over a year before baptizing their child.

The baptismal record is reproduced in Leite, *História*, II, 627-628, and *id.*, *Páginas*, 186. Cf. also Leite, "Quando nasceu José de Anchieta," *Páginas*, 185-187; Alcantara Machado, "Vida do Padre Joseph de Anchieta," CJ, III, 544-545; Vieira, *Anchieta*, 207.

His parents, Juan de Anchieta and Mencia Díaz de Claviko Llarena, were both of noble lineage. The Anchietas had long been related by blood and historical events with the family of St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order, and hence were also related to St. Francis Xavier. The details of this relationship were made known by Adolphe Coster in his work *Juan de Anchieta et la famille de Loyola*, Paris, 1930.¹⁸

In Guipuzcoa, one of the three Basque provinces of northern Spain, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there were two bitterly hostile factions, whose constant warfare disrupted the life of the province to such a degree that eight cities rose up against them. The two factions, faced with this dilemma, united, and threatened the defiant cities with destruction. But King Henry IV of Castile intervened, and exiled from Guipuzcoa, for a time, the leaders of the noble factions. Juan Pérez of Loyola was the leader, by inheritance, of one of these noble factions, that of Oñaz, and the Anchietas belonged to this faction as vassals. The Anchieta properties were in Urrestilla, a town two kilometers from Loyola. In 1460, it appears, Urtayzaga de Loyola married Martín García de Anchieta, thus uniting the two families by ties of blood. One of the three sons by this marriage was Juan de Anchieta, who became a priest, gained fame as a singer and composer, and in 1489 was named chaplain and chorister for the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella. During the closing years of the fifteenth and the early part of the sixteenth centuries, the leader of the noble faction of Oñaz was Beltrán Yáñez, father of the founder of the Jesuit Order, St. Ignatius, and first cousin of Father Juan de Anchieta. The two were friends, and Father Juan helped arrange the marriage of Martin, son of Beltrán, to a lady of the court of Queen Isabella. In recompense, the father was made rector of the parish church of Azpeitia, of which Beltrán Yáñez was patron, with rights to the tithes. In 1507 Beltrán died, and his son Martín García succeeded him as patron of the church. Eight years later Father Juan returned to Azpeitia, and irritated his cousins no end by attempting to secure the succession to the rectorate for his nephew, which was contrary to the plans of Pedro López, brother of Martín and Ignatius, and himself a priest. A hectic series of arguments and litigations resulted, the outcome of which is not known.

Father Juan was a native of Urrestilla, in Guipuzcoa, where

¹⁸ These facts are summarized in Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 541-544.

he was born about 1462. Sometime between 1503 and 1516 María Martínez de Esquerrategui, of Azpeitia, referred to by him as a "mujer suelta," bore him a son, also named Juan de Anchieta, who appears to have been the father of the great Jesuit missionary of Brazil. These facts recently brought to light by Coster may explain why the early biographers of the "Apostle of Brazil" make no reference to the paternal ancestry, despite the blood relationship between the Anchetas and St. Ignatius, and even though the names of Ana and Catarina López de Anchieta, relatives of St. Ignatius, the latter a first cousin, appear in the records gathered for his beatification. The events in the life of his grandfather and their outcome, may also partially explain why the father of the future "Apostle" migrated to Tenerife, and why his son was sent to Portugal to study instead of to Spain.

The chronology in the lives of the two Juans is, however, still somewhat confused for the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The son, Juan de Anchieta, was born in Urrestilla, birthplace of his father. After serving his monarch as a soldier in Granada, he followed the advice of relatives also in the royal service who urged him to seek his fortune in the Canary Islands, which had recently been conquered by Spain, and which were attracting many Spaniards, especially from the Biscayan region and Andalusia, because of their reported fertility. He migrated to the island of Tenerife, where he married Mencia Díaz, "native of Gran Canaria, principal one of the Fortunate Isles, of noble blood and large estate, descendant of the house of Fernādo de Llarena, who took part in the conquest of Tenerife as captain of cavalry, and played an important part in it."¹⁹ Or to quote from Caxa, José de Anchieta's first biographer, "Mencia Díaz was a descendant of the natives who were found there when the isle was captured by the Christians."²⁰ Mencia Díaz was the widow of Bachelor Nuño Núñez de Villavicencio, by whom she had two sons. Of the marriage with Juan de Anchieta ten children were born, the third of which was José, the "Apostle of Brazil." Juan de Anchieta held various posts in Tenerife, including that of procurator of the town council, and died between February of 1553 and March of the year following. His wife lived many years longer, leaving a will dated 1584, at which time six children of the fruitful marriage were still living: Teresa, Ana, José, Juan,

¹⁹ Baltasar de Anchieta, *Compendio de la vida de el apóstol de el Brasil*, 28; cited in Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 544.

²⁰ Caxa, *Breve Relação*, in Leite, *Páginas*, 152.

Baltasar, and Gaspar.²¹ Very little is known of these brothers and sisters of Father Anchieta.

Tenerife, the little island on which José de Anchieta spent his childhood days, was a Spanish outpost only recently subjugated by force of arms. It is the largest of the Canary Islands. The group consists of seven occupied islands, with an area of some 2,807 square miles. The peak of Tenerife, which rises some 12,200 feet from the sea, dominates the entire group. Like the other neighboring isles, Tenerife is of volcanic origin; a quiescent volcano occupies nearly two-thirds of the island. Its lower slopes are covered with beautiful forests and meadows. The Canaries were known since Roman antiquity as the Fortunate Isles. The wars for the conquest of the islands lasted nearly a century (1404-1496), during which the fusion of the native and Spanish races began, a process which rapidly followed the pacification of the region. In 1477 the Catholic monarchs assumed the task of subjugating the larger islands; meanwhile, by various treaties from 1480 to 1509, the Portuguese crown renounced all claims.²²

Some writers charge that the conquerors of the Canaries extirpated the native race, the *Guanches*. As a matter of fact, the native race lost its identity through the loss of its language, intermarriage, and the general abandonment of native family names to take, in baptism and marriage, the names of the conquerors. That the native race was not extirpated is amply proved by the physical traits of the Canary islanders and their customs and traditions. Christianization and hispanization, accompanied by intermarriage, were so rapid that by the second decade of the sixteenth century the native leaders considered themselves Spaniards. It is interesting that José de Anchieta refers in later years to his Biscayan origin, because his father was from there; José never set foot on Biscay.²³ The more cultured natives held high posts in the army, the church, and the civil administration, and many of the conquerors married native women. José de Anchieta's mother was the daughter of such a marriage, and he himself a living example of what may be achieved through that same ideal of the human dignity of all men. Upon the completion of the conquest the conquerors devoted themselves to agriculture,

²¹ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 544.

²² Pedro Aguado Bleye, *Manual de Historia de España*, 2 volumes, Bilbao, 1929, II, 15-16; Rafael Altamira y Crevea, *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española*, 4 volumes, Madrid, 1909-1911, II, 393.

²³ CJ, III, 327, "Informação do Brasil e de suas Capitanias" (1584).

taught the natives to collect water deposits, opened mines, dug ditches to divert streams to useful purposes, rotated crops, planted sugar cane, grape vines, and fruit trees, built mills, developed fishing, and established trade with Europe. The development of the isles was the work of all, and the wealth was in the hands of the descendants of both races.²⁴

In these surroundings, of mild and sunny climate, with the peaceful air of a land apart and far away, Anchieta spent his childhood days. He learned how to read and write in his home, on the Plaza del Adelantado, where he later studied Latin. The religious spirit of his home probably influenced his religious inclinations.²⁵ José's serious and studious character apparently impressed all those with whom he came in contact, for his father's will refers to "a certain *cédula* which Cristóval Moreno . . . gave me for my son Joseph for Coimbra, which consisted of twenty ducats."²⁶ In 1550 José left for Portugal to enter the University of Coimbra.

III

At Coimbra, though only seventeen, Anchieta soon displayed his linguistic and literary talents. "With his great ability he soon demonstrated that he was one of the best in the first class, and he soon spoke Portuguese like one who had spoken it since childhood, something rarely found among those whose native tongue is Castilian."²⁷ According to early biographers he wrote such beautiful prose and poetry that his fellow students referred to him as "the Canary," an allusion to the song-bird and to Anchieta's island home.²⁸ Of a highly sensitive character, and deeply religious, his personal reaction to the vice and immorality that surrounded the university quarters was one of deepening spirituality. One day, like St. Ignatius at Montserrat, he knelt before an image of the Blessed Virgin in the cathedral at Coimbra and made a perpetual vow of chastity.²⁹

Attracted, undoubtedly, by the ascetic rules and the zeal for moral reform of the recently organized Society of Jesus, and perhaps influenced by personal acquaintance with some of the Jesuit professors at Coimbra, on May 1, 1551, at the age of sev-

²⁴ Aguado Bleye, *Manual*, II, 16.

²⁵ Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 152; Rodrigues, "Vida," 197; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 545.

²⁶ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 545.

²⁷ Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 152.

²⁸ Franco, *Vida*, 2.

²⁹ Rodrigues, "Vida," 197; Franco, *Vida*, 2.

enteen, Anchieta joined the Society.³⁰ When he became a Jesuit novice he had already studied logic and dialectics, and some philosophy.³¹ He was a student of great promise, "brilliant and of fine memory";³² and "a living example of virtue, especially in devotion, humility, and obedience."³³ But his health, always delicate, now failed him. According to the Jesuit Catalogue of 1552 he was excused from the regular course in philosophy due to ill health.³⁴ The illness referred to here was serious. It not only cut short his studies at Coimbra, but dogged him for the remainder of his life. Anchieta had developed a curvature of the spine which twisted his ribs out of place. "His spine became the shape of an S, twisted from his right shoulder to his left side."³⁵ This condition caused him continuous suffering. Long prayers, fasting, and self-imposed flagellation weakened his already frail body. Over ten years later Anchieta wrote: ". . . my ribs still tire me, and cause pain as they usually do, and are very weak."³⁶ In 1585 the Jesuit Visitor spoke of his "many and long standing illnesses."³⁷ The cause of Anchieta's spinal injury, which left him hunch-backed throughout life, has been variously attributed to either of two causes. According to his contemporary, Caxa, while at Coimbra the devout Jesuit novice took joy in serving as an acolyte at eight or ten Masses daily, frequently missing meals, incurring undue fatigue, and thus jeopardizing his health. As a result of this, we are told, he developed a pain in his side, and to relieve this pain, while kneeling at the foot of the altar, he would twist his body and press his hand to the side which pained him. This he did so frequently that the curvature and twisted ribs resulted.³⁸ According to another early Jesuit account a ladder fell on him causing the permanent dislocation of his spine.³⁹ Whatever the cause, he was given the best of medical attention by his superiors, but without success. With little hope of cure, Anchieta feared that he might not be able to continue in the Society.

Meanwhile, from Brazil came repeated requests for additional

³⁰ Franco, *Vida*, 2; Leite, *História*, II, 480.

³¹ Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 152; Rodrigues, "Vida," 197.

³² Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 152.

³³ *Idem*. At Coimbra Anchieta was a friend of Pedro Leitão, later Bishop of Brazil, 1559-1573.

³⁴ Leite, *História*, II, 480.

³⁵ Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 153.

³⁶ CJ, III, 211, Anchieta to Diego Lainez, São Vicente, January 8, 1565.

³⁷ Leite, *História*, II, 481.

³⁸ "Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 152-153.

³⁹ Vasconcellos, cited in Leite, *História*, II, 481; Franco, *Vida*, 3.

missionaries, and the letters from Nóbrega and his Jesuit companions always spoke highly of the mild climate, the pure air, and the healthfulness of the simple diet of the distant outpost. "On the advice of doctors,"⁴⁰ it was decided to send Anchieta, and another invalid, Brother Gregorio Serrão, with the next Jesuit expedition to Brazil in the hope that their health would improve under its benign skies.⁴¹ As events proved, Anchieta's illness was Brazil's gain, for he was to spend forty-four years of useful service there. His happy example led Nóbrega, always eager for more missionaries, enthusiastically to propose, perhaps at the suggestion of Anchieta himself, that Brazil be utilized as a sort of sanatorium for Jesuits of ailing health in Portugal.⁴²

A handful of Jesuits, the first in America, had been laboring in Brazil under the leadership of Manuel da Nóbrega since 1549.⁴³ Six in all, they had accompanied Tomé de Sousa, the first royal governor, at the request of the Portuguese Crown, to help preserve Christian life among the people and to Christianize the native tribes.⁴⁴ Four more Jesuits arrived from Portugal in 1550. Meanwhile, a number of Portuguese residents were attracted by the work of the Society, and became able helpers as missionaries, interpreters, and craftsmen. A third expedition was sent from Portugal three years later, consisting of seven missionaries, the largest contingent thus far. Of this Anchieta was a member. The group left Lisbon on May 8, 1553, on the ship carrying Duarte da Costa, the newly appointed royal governor, to Brazil.⁴⁵ During the voyage, we are told, Anchieta humbly performed chores in the kitchen, firing the stove, and in the dispensary.

The armada, composed of four ships and 260 persons, arrived at Bahia on July 13. After the official welcome accompanying the arrival of the new governor, the Jesuits made their way to their humble residence where they were received by the three Jesuits

⁴⁰ Rodrigues, "Vida," 198.

⁴¹ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 546.

⁴² Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas*, 57, Nóbrega to St. Ignatius, São Vicente, March 25, 1555; Leite, *Páginas*, 49. Anchieta himself made a similar suggestion shortly after his arrival in Piratininha (CJ, III, 63-64, 68, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554; *id.* to St. Ignatius, Piratininha, July 1554).

⁴³ A detailed account of Jesuit beginnings in Brazil may be found in Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (January 1942), 3-26, and his "Nóbrega of Brazil," *ibid.*, XXIV (July 1942), 151-187.

⁴⁴ Complete lists of the members of these early Jesuit expeditions, with dates of departure and arrival, may be found in Leite, *História*, I, 560-561.

⁴⁵ For further details of this expedition see Ruth Lapham Butler, "Duarte da Costa, Second Governor-General of Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV (July 1943), 165-166.

stationed there. Nóbrega, the Jesuit leader, was in the south, in São Vicente, on a tour of inspection with Governor Tomé de Sousa. He had, in fact, despaired of success in Bahia for the time being; life was so scandalous due to the bad example of the secular clergy, and missionary work among the Indians was so difficult due to the attitude of the bishop. In the captaincy of São Vicente, on the foundations built by the Jesuit pioneer of southern Brazil, Leonardo Nunes, Nóbrega hoped to establish a great mission center from which the many tribes of the vast hinterland, as far as Paraguay, could be evangelized. Gathered at São Vicente were most of the Jesuits of Brazil. Hence, as soon as Nóbrega received word of the new arrivals in Bahia he sent Nunes by boat to conduct some of them south. Anchieta was among those selected. In October 1553 the party was on its way to São Vicente.⁴⁶ The trip proved to be a harrowing one. On November 20-21, the two small vessels in which the Jesuits were traveling were badly wrecked in a storm, one of the boats was entirely destroyed, and it is a wonder that any of the occupants survived.⁴⁷ Constant danger, Anchieta had soon learned, was part of the life of the missionary in Brazil. After a brief stop at Espírito Santo, on December 24 Anchieta and his four companions arrived at their destination.⁴⁸

Anchieta, not yet twenty, was an excellent linguist, thus doubly valuable in Nóbrega's plans in the southern captaincy. During the greater part of the next fourteen years he was to play a great role as the interpreter and chosen companion of Nóbrega. At São Vicente, at São Paulo de Piratininga, at Iperoig, and at the founding of Rio, he was at all times working in the shadow of his superior. During the years in São Vicente, the more one follows Anchieta the more one admires Nóbrega's qualities of leadership, and the more one studies Nóbrega the more one appreciates the reasons for the unequaled fame of the self-effacing Anchieta in the memory of the Brazilian people.

Of Anchieta's dominant physical traits, in addition to those already indicated, the Jesuit chronicler Vasconcellos has left the following description:

Father José de Anchieta was of medium stature, spare of frame,

⁴⁶ CJ, III, 131, note 94.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* Anchieta vividly describes the storm in his letter to the Father General, São Vicente, May 1560, CJ, III, 108-110. The description is of real literary merit.

⁴⁸ Leite, *História*, I, 272; Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 547; *id.*, "Anchieta na Capitania de São Vicente," 29.

but robust and vigorous of spirit; of dark complexion, blue flecked eyes, narrow face, well shaped nose, smooth shaven; and in his countenance honest, pleasant, and loveable.⁴⁹

IV

When Anchieta arrived in São Vicente only nineteen years had passed since it had been granted as a captaincy by King John III to Martim Affonso de Sousa.⁵⁰ Along the hundred leagues or more of the coast line of the captaincy, colonization was sparse and in the pioneering stage. The old town of São Vicente, founded in 1532, had been destroyed by the sea eleven years before; the settlement Anchieta knew was at a safer point on the island, behind the hill of the Barbosas. At the foot of the hill was the Jesuit church. The town, with its forty or fifty households, offered a poorer appearance than Bahia. It did not live, it vegetated. The violent attacks of the Tamóios were continuous, and São Vicente and near-by Santos were inadequately fortified. The Indian trade, with all of its vicissitudes, attracted many into the hinterland, thus creating constant friction with the Indian tribes of the interior. Besides the Indian trade, sugar was the basis of wealth. There were a dozen sugar mills in the vicinity of Santos and São Vicente. At this time Santos, near most of the sugar plantations and with its more accessible port, was more prosperous than São Vicente. A trail had been opened by which trade was carried on between the two towns.

For a hundred some leagues, with the exception of these two incipient settlements, the coast was virtually uninhabited, with only vestiges of habitation by Tupiniquins, Tamóios, Miramomis, Guayanazas, and Carijós. These places were visited by the natives but were not really permanent settlements: to the north was Ipêroig, and to the south Paranatiú, Ararapira, Iguape, and Cananéa. The natives lived inland, in places frequently difficult of access, and visited the coast primarily to fish and gather shells. On the plateau inland from São Vicente, on the edge of the forest was another nucleus of Portuguese settlement, Santo André da Borda do Campo, the old village founded even before São Vicente by the patriarch João de Ramalho. This isolated and arrogantly independent colony had long been attracting

⁴⁹ Quoted in Leite, *História*, II, 486.

⁵⁰ The São Vicente scene at the time of Anchieta's arrival, as described in the following paragraphs, is fully presented in Anchieta's letters, CJ, III, 35-61; see also Alcântara Machado, "Anchieta na Capitania de São Vicente," 39-44.

white settlers scattered throughout the plateau, and had been recently organized officially as a town with Ramalho as mayor and protector of the frontier. In the vicinity of Santo André were a number of small Indian *aldeias*.

The Portuguese clung to the coast. Only Ramalho, precursor of the *bandeirantes*, with his numerous progeny and large mame-luke and Indian following had dared establish a settlement on the plateau among the Indians. The Jesuits had already had trouble with Ramalho over a number of moral questions before the arrival of Anchieta. Ramalho's settlement, a powerful but sinister force, stood sentinel between the coast and the hinterland. With such a settlement guarding the frontier the permanency of the settlements of São Vicente were indeed precarious. On the hill of Piratininga, near-by Santo André, the Jesuits were soon to establish the springboard for the expansion of settlement onto the plateau and the opening up of the backcountry under orderly royal auspices. Here Anchieta was destined to begin his career as a missionary.

Nóbrega had already looked over the ground and had made his plans. On the plateau on the site of Piratininga, some thirty miles inland from São Vicente, he planned a Jesuit mission center threefold in purpose: as a base to seek out the Indians in their own *aldeias* apart from the bad example of errant whites on the coast; to wipe out the native and imported vices of Ramalho's colony, and reduce him to impotence by winning over the surrounding Indian tribes; and to establish a gateway to Paraguay, which he believed was ripe for conversion. He showed greater foresight than earlier civil authorities who, at best, preferred to avoid friction with the Indians by limiting Portuguese settlement and civilized life to the coastal fringe. Christianization of the whole hinterland, to be consolidated by extensive white penetration on the pattern of true Christian life, was Nóbrega's vision. Then alone could the land be held safe for the expansion of Christian civilization. This would mean combating Indian slavery, considered by many as essential to the economy of the region; combating vice among whites and Indians; disputing the authority of Ramalho on the plateau. This was the enormous task undertaken by the Jesuits in the south.

Father Nunes and Brother Diogo Jacome had been working out of São Vicente since 1549.⁵¹ By 1553 they had already done

⁵¹ CJ, III, 315, "Informação do Brasil a de suas capitaniais" (1584); Leite, *História*, I, 252-255; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 46-47.

missionary work on several of the interior *aldeias* with some success. A number of old settlers who knew the native Tupi language had been received as novices in the Society, and were assisting in the work. Nóbrega, guided by one of Ramalho's sons, had already visited the region and had chosen the site where he intended to establish a church and residence.⁵² When Nóbrega sent Nunes to Bahia for more missionaries in 1553 it was to assure the establishment of the new residence on the plateau. The projected mission center not only became a reality, but the early martyrdom of Pedro Correia and João de Sousa, who lost their lives while blazing a trail to Paraguay, one of the aims of the vast enterprise, exemplified a dynamic spirit up to that time unknown in the captaincy.⁵³

Early in January 1554, after Epiphany, some thirteen Jesuit brothers, including Anchieta, led by Father Manuel de Paiva, crossed the steep mountain trail to the site chosen by Nóbrega, the *aldeia* of Piratininga.⁵⁴ On January 25, 1554, on the feast of St. Paul, Father Paiva said Mass in a rude hut set up by the Indians of the locality, hence the place was dedicated to St. Paul—São Paulo, the future metropolis of southern Brazil.⁵⁵ The friendly Indian chief Tibiriça and his people settled on the northern side, and the natives of Caiubi on the southern side, sentinels of defense protecting the entrances to the new mission establishment. Like medieval nobles, the Jesuits thus isolated themselves on the heights of Piratininga, dominating the surrounding fields and protected from attack. Anchieta was one of the founders of São Paulo. Equally adept at writing in Latin, Portuguese, and Castilian, he was immediately assigned to the important task of preparing and drawing up the famed Jesuit letters and relations periodically sent to confrères and superiors in Portugal and in Rome. And so his letters are among the best sources for the founding and early history of São Paulo. Through them we can follow closely his own activity—a shadow ever in the background.

⁵² Leite, *História*, I, 271-272, 277; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 48.

⁵³ A good account of the Correia-Sousa expedition may be found in Leite, *História*, II, 236-242. See also CJ, III, 74-77, 80-83, two letters of Anchieta dated Piratininga, 1555, and São Vicente, March 15, 1555.

⁵⁴ The exact number is uncertain. See CJ, III, 341, note 402; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 30; *id.*, "Vida," CJ, III, 547-548.

⁵⁵ CJ, III, 38, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554; *ibid.*, 72, Anchieta to the Brothers of the Society in Portugal, Piratininga, 1554; *ibid.*, 321, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitâncias" (1584).

With characteristic candor and zeal, Anchieta describes the first residence of São Paulo as follows:

From January to the present we have been living here, our numbers sometimes exceeding twenty, in an humble cabin the walls of which are constructed of poles together with clay, and covered with dry grass. It is fourteen paces long by ten wide, and performs the duties of school, infirmary, dormitory, refectory, kitchen, and dispensary. But we would not exchange this cabin for the most spacious quarters enjoyed by our brethren in other localities, for we have ever present in our minds that Our Lord Jesus Christ was born in a stable, between two brute animals, far more incommodious than our place of abode, and that He expired for us on a cross still less endurable.⁵⁶

As may be seen, these humble quarters housed a veritable dynamo, for within those walls, and in the open space before it where religious services were held, were all the essential agencies of organized society, surrounded on every side by lawlessness and savagery.

The work of the Jesuits at São Paulo de Piratininga was assigned according to the aptitudes of each. And so Anchieta was assigned to teach. He had three classes. One was in Latin grammar, and since he was the only one who knew Latin, he taught his Jesuit companions, including his superior Father Paiva. He also taught a class of Portuguese children brought from São Vicente, and another composed of Indian children recruited from the neighboring region.⁵⁷ Prior to September 1554, some one hundred thirty natives, women and children for the most part, were receiving instruction in Christian doctrine.⁵⁸ Of these only thirty-six had been baptized, for as Anchieta wrote, "we do not believe that they should be baptized until after a long period of probation."⁵⁹ Classes were twice daily, morning and afternoon, after which hymns were sung and prayers recited in Portuguese and in the native tongue.⁶⁰ At night the children went from house to house singing praise to the God of the Christians. To facilitate the evangelization of the natives, Anchieta studied their language while he taught them, and with his knowledge of grammar

⁵⁶ CJ, III, 43, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

⁵⁷ Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 51.

⁵⁸ *Idem*.

⁵⁹ CJ, III, 39, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

⁶⁰ *Idem*; CJ, III, 72, Anchieta to the Brothers of the Society in Portugal, Piratininga, 1554; *ibid.*, 85, Letter of Anchieta, São Vicente, March 15, 1555; *ibid.*, 93-94, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556.

he was soon able to draw up instructions and prayers, and compose hymns, poems, and plays in the native tongue. And he prepared a vocabulary and grammar of the native *língua geral* spoken along the coast which were used at Piratininga as early as 1555, and which became the textbook for the class in "Greek" required at the college of Bahia by order of Father Grã from 1560 on.⁶¹ In view of the lack of textbooks for his various classes, Anchieta spent many a sleepless night preparing outlines by hand to distribute to his students. The classroom was so small that in the winter season it was soon smoked up in the attempt to keep it warm, and frequently classes were held out in the cold in preference to the stifling smoke. After class teacher and students would carry wood to supply warmth for the night.⁶²

Life among the Jesuit missionaries was one of true poverty, but in their ascetic zeal it seemed to agree with them. Beds were rude hammocks, kept warm at night by fires under them, Indian fashion. Anchieta, we are told by a contemporary, frequently spent most of the night keeping the fires going, that his companions might rest.⁶³ Ability to do some sort of manual labor as well as other tasks was essential for survival. Anchieta became adept at making *alpergatas*, a sort of sandal made of cordage from a native plant. He also served as barber and doctor, bleeding the sick and administering practical remedies, among both natives and whites. The missionaries mended with care what little clothing they had brought with them from Portugal or had pieced together on the frontier. Anchieta is said to have made himself a cassock out of old sail cloth dyed black.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, he was soon rivaling Nunes, famed among the natives as "The Flying Padre," in traveling great distances to visit Indian *aldeias* and to minister to the sick. This was the sickly hunchback from Coimbra! As he himself wrote, by working tirelessly there was no time to think about infirmities; adding that in Brazil "it is necessary to be a saint to be a brother in the Society."⁶⁵

In July 1554, there were sixteen Jesuits distributed in the four settlements of São Vicente: at São Vicente, São Paulo,

⁶¹ CJ, III, 63-64, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 43, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554; Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 155; Leite, *História*, II, 542.

⁶³ Caxa, "Breve Relação," in Leite, *Páginas*, 155.

⁶⁴ CJ, III, 63, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554; Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 52.

⁶⁵ CJ, III, 64, Anchieta to the Sick Brothers in Coimbra, São Vicente, 1554.

Manicoba, and Geribatiba.⁶⁶ This was the largest concentration of activity in all Brazil. Of the thirteen co-founders of the new residence at Piratininga, after seven months only seven remained.⁶⁷ At the *aldeia* of Manicoba the resident missionaries were "gathering little fruit as yet,"⁶⁸ wrote Anchieta, due to the stubbornness of the natives. Anchieta's skill in languages, his ability at almost any task, his piety, obedience, devotion, and religious zeal, gave him, despite his youth and the fact that he was not yet ordained, a conspicuous place in the new community. With Anchieta directing the instruction in the school, Antonio Rodrigues assisting in the teaching of the Indian catechumens in the native tongue, Affonso Braz and Diogo Jacome as carpenters (the latter also skilled at making rosaries and other religious articles), Mateus Nogueira at his forge, and the others at their various missionary tasks under the direction of Father Paiva, São Paulo began to live and grow. All this despite the fact that outside support for the mission establishment was limited almost exclusively to what few provisions the Indians supplied in exchange for the articles produced by the blacksmith Brother Nogueira.⁶⁹ The principal task of the missionaries was their struggle against vice and crime among Indians and whites alike, and against native cannibalism, drunkenness, polygamy, sexual degeneracy, and the charlatany of the *pagés* or medicine-men. The hope for the future, as seen by all the missionaries, lay in the conversion and education of the children, not yet exposed to the depravities of their elders; and, relatively speaking, progress was being made.

Luiz da Grã arrived in São Vicente on May 15, 1555. The leader of the recently arrived Jesuit expedition of which Anchieta was a member, Grã had come as *colateral* to assist Nóbrega in directing the affairs of the Jesuit Province of Brazil. On his advice, it would appear, Nóbrega abandoned his Paraguayan dream, toward accomplishing which two Jesuits had recently been martyred, and the two leaders laid plans for the extension of mission work within the captaincy itself. They climbed to Piratininga, where Anchieta's school was named college. In January 1556, the new college was formally opened; a more spacious church and larger quarters had been completed by Anchieta's

⁶⁶ Leite, *História*, I, 274-275, 276.

⁶⁷ CJ, III, 42, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁹ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 548; Leite, *História*, I, 297.

students under the direction of Father Braz.⁷⁰ Leaving Grã in charge of affairs in the south, on May 3 Nóbrega embarked for the capital, Bahia, to direct Jesuit activities in the north. Grã, the most highly educated person in all Brazil at that time, yet an humble and zealous missionary, took up residence at Geribatiba, an Indian *aldeia* six leagues from Piratininga, from which he vied with young Anchieta in scouring the region for souls.⁷¹ Teaching, evangelizing, and performing countless acts of charity, Anchieta, meanwhile, remained in Piratininga until 1561, when the college was transferred to São Vicente.

The immediate obstacles to the permanency of São Paulo de Piratininga, namely, the enmity of many of Ramalho's people, and the constant attacks by the Tamóios and the hostile tribes of the hinterland, were eventually overcome. The first Jesuit missionaries to visit the region looked with horror upon the moral conditions at Santo André, and Ramalho and his people had looked with suspicion and resentment upon the intrusion of the Jesuits into their domain. Anchieta early spoke of the scandalous example of the people of Christian origin who lived there with their Indian spouses and mameluke offspring.⁷² But Nóbrega, relying upon the influence of their Christian background upon their consciences, adopted a policy of conciliation, and as a result early enmity and friction were eventually nullified. There were, of course, always discordant elements among those who had joined Ramalho's colony solely to live among the natives as savages free from all restraints of Christian morality. They disturbed the peace of Piratininga, urging neophytes to move to Santo André where they could live as before, enjoying the taste of the human flesh of a captured enemy and sleeping with more than one wife. Despite this element, through Nóbrega's conciliatory policy, which pointed toward eventually correcting illegal unions and restoring Santo André to Christian life, the Portuguese on the plateau were eventually consolidated and the permanency of the nucleus of European colonization there was assured. For economic and defensive reasons, primarily, Ra-

⁷⁰ Alcantara Machado, "Vida," CJ, III, 548; CJ, III, 94, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556; *ibid.*, 95-96, note 84; *ibid.*, 325-326, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitâncias" (1584).

⁷¹ CJ, III, 89-90, Anchieta's Trimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-August 1556; *ibid.*, 152-153, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560; J. Manuel Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã, Mission Builder and Educator of Brazil," MID-AMERICA, XXIV (July 1942), 195.

⁷² CJ, III, 46-47, Anchieta's Quadrimestral Letter, Piratininga, May-September 1554.

malho, in 1560, moved his colony to São Paulo, thus merging the two settlements.⁷³ The increasing violence of the degradations of hostile tribes, and the economic distress at Santo André, appear from the few contemporary sources at hand to have been the determining factors in leading the people of Ramalho's colony, of their own volition, to incorporate themselves with the inhabitants of the Jesuit mission establishment. Anchieta adds that the move was also desirable in order to facilitate ministering to the people of Santo André, who, three leagues away, had to be visited from Piratininga.⁷⁴ The step was significant in the colonization of the southern frontier. Thus unified, the attacks of the Tamóios and other hostile tribes were successfully met and overcome. The great test was to come in 1562.

Meanwhile, Piratininga was becoming less and less isolated from the coastal settlements. In 1560 a new and safer road was built between Santos and Piratininga which was a great boon to the region. In homage to Anchieta—a familiar sight on that trail, barefoot or in sandals of cordage that he himself had made, with staff in hand, and in later years sometimes carrying over his shoulder a heavy bundle containing the articles necessary to say Mass—the road came to be known as "Father José's Road."⁷⁵ As the hinterland was thus drawn a step closer, the search for mines and the effort to evangelize tribes that lived farther inland were paving the way for the spread of settlement and the age of the *bandeirantes*. Already in 1555 Anchieta wrote from Piratininga:

We desire one thing here above all else, and we constantly ask it of Our Lord, without which no fruit may be gathered in Brazil. That is, that this land be thickly populated by Christians to hold it in subjection; for the natives are so indomitable, and so accustomed to eat human flesh, and to recognize no authority, that it will be very difficult to become established permanently in any other way.⁷⁶

Anchieta was a tireless worker, and daily his superiors came to rely upon him more heavily in the missionary work of the captaincy. Much of the work of evangelization on the plateau progressed under his direction, as he "carried on the battle,

⁷³ The best discussion of this problem may be found in Leite's "A Fundação de São Paulo," in *id., Páginas*, 81-97. See also Alcantara Machado, "Anchieta na capitania de São Vicente," 57-62.

⁷⁴ CJ, III, 170-171, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 12, 1561; *ibid.*, 321, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitâncias" (1584).

⁷⁵ Leite, *História*, II, 590, note 3.

⁷⁶ CJ, III, 77, Anchieta to the Brothers of the Society in Portugal, Piratininga, 1555.

armed with the Divine Word."⁷⁷ Already his feats were becoming legendary among the people. In visiting surrounding Portuguese and Indian settlements, as he reveals in his letters, he and his companions braved rain and storm, crossing swollen streams at great risk, and traveling great distances through dark forests under the constant watch of beasts of prey; there was little time to think of suffering from hunger or illness. On one occasion Grã and Anchieta hastened to an Indian celebration where a human sacrifice was about to be performed. Although they were unable to prevent the killing of the victim, a three-year-old child, baptism was administered, and a sermon against cannibalism bore fruit for the planned feasting on the flesh of the child was abandoned.⁷⁸ Anchieta's letters speak frequently of the ease with which Indian neophytes returned to old pagan customs; he envied the more successful mission work begun around Bahia, and consoled himself and those to whom his letters were addressed by describing at length edifying cases of successful conversions. Christian teaching was slow and difficult among these tribes. He writes: "And so we work as best we can to teach them doctrine, bending every effort to separate them from their ancient customs; some believe, but most of them continue as before."⁷⁹

Still, there was also a brighter side to the picture. The edifying cases that Anchieta describes are numerous; and he speaks frequently of the hope of reaching tribes reported to be more disposed to conversion. Among the native children there was some success:

At this *aldeia* of Piratininga . . . we have a large school for children, the children of the Indians, where they are already being taught to read and write, and they abhor very much the customs of their parents.⁸⁰

The problem was to prevent them from relapsing into paganism when they grew older, for:

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 154, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 153-154.

⁷⁹ "There is no doubt that much could be accomplished if they [the surrounding Indians] were gathered together where they could be effectively instructed, as is now being done in Bahia, where, gathered in large *aldeias* by order of the governor, they rapidly learn Christian doctrine and the rudiments of the faith, and much fruit is gathered. This will continue as long as there are those who will keep them under control as we now hold them." *Ibid.*, 150. See also *ibid.*, 316, "Informação do Brasil e de suas capitanias" (1584); *ibid.*, 166, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 12, 1561. For a description of the Jesuit *aldeia* system in the vicinity of Bahia referred to here by Anchieta, see Espinosa, "Luiz da Grã," 194, 197-210.

⁸⁰ CJ, III, 85, Letter of Anchieta, São Vicente, March 15, 1555.

The children themselves, whom we virtually nurse at our breasts with the milk of Christian doctrine, after having been well instructed follow their parents, first to their place of residence and then in customs.⁸¹

On special feast days the pageantry of the Church drew the Indians in large numbers to religious services, thus keeping them exposed, at least, to the gospel preached by the missionaries. Anchieta wrote:

On the principal feast days, especially at the celebrations of the Nativity and the passion of Our Lord, they gather at Piratininga from all the surrounding regions and localities, nearly all arriving many days in advance. They attend the Divine Services and take part in the processions, in which, as they march, they whip themselves until the blood flows. . . . We also preach the Passion, inspiring great devotion and copious shedding of tears in our listeners, who also shed many tears at confession and communion. They also are taught especially to pray, and for this purpose we give them rosaries, so that by repeating the *Ave Maria* many times, they may come to have special love and devotion for Our Lady.⁸²

Of life on the trail Anchieta writes:

Almost continuously we are on the trail visiting the various settlements, both Indian and Portuguese, oblivious of rain and storm and swollen streams; many times traversing dark forests by night to assist the sick, but not without great suffering due to the roughness of the roads and the inclemencies of the weather. Especially since these settlements are so numerous; and they are so distant one from another that we are not enough to minister to all those who seek our assistance; and even if we were many more we would not be sufficient. Besides this, we who minister to the needs of others, are frequently ill and weak with pain, and fall faint by the road, scarcely able to travel any farther; and so, sometimes we are more in need of medical assistance than those who seek our aid. But nothing is too arduous to the one whose only aim is to honor God and to save souls, for which we would gladly give our lives.⁸³

On these excursions Anchieta observed closely the flora and fauna of the land, and later wrote down observations which are now of inestimable value to Americanists. In these detailed descriptive narratives his keen observation and genial realism are unsurpassed. The forest was teeming with life, in all its

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 92, Letter of Anchieta, Piratininga, December 1556.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 150-151, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 149.

paradoxes of beauty and ugliness, and endless struggle for existence. On the occasion of coming upon a large snake on the trail, Anchieta writes, in a philosophic mood:

On one occasion, while returning to Piratininga from a certain Portuguese settlement, to which a Brother and I had been sent to teach Christian doctrine, I came upon a large snake coiled in the middle of the road. First making the sign of the Cross, I struck it with my staff, and killed it. Very soon after, three or four small snakes were wriggling along the ground, and we were wondering where they had come from so suddenly, for we had not noticed them before, when we saw others coming from the womb of the mother. I shook the dead body of the snake, and other offspring appeared, a total of eleven, all lively and perfectly formed, with the exception of two. I have heard tell by reliable persons of another in whose womb over forty were found. Still, in the midst of such a great multitude of them, Our Lord preserves us unharmed, and we confide more in him than in antidotes or any human power. We entrust ourselves solely to Jesus, Our Lord, the only one who can protect us from danger, walking as we do over ground covered with serpents.⁸⁴

When not on some mission of mercy or evangelization, or on an embassy of peace to a hostile tribe, or settling public or private quarrels or problems of conscience, teaching, or writing, there were other tasks:

Scarcely any of the arts necessary for our physical needs are not engaged in. . . . We make clothing, shoes, especially *alpergatas*, . . . which are very necessary because of the rough and frequently inundated jungle trails. It is often necessary to travel great distances waist deep in water, sometimes chest deep, in order to give medical assistance, cure wounds, bleed the sick; we build cabins and other constructions of mud, and engage in other similar tasks. And so, there is never time for idleness.⁸⁵

The needs of evangelization and teaching divided Anchieta's attention between the coastal towns and São Paulo. Yet because of his linguistic attainments he was indispensable as a teacher, and in requesting more missionaries for Brazil Nóbrega wrote his superiors in Europe emphasizing the need of a good Latin teacher to replace him, so that he might be free to spend more time as a missionary among the many surrounding tribes not yet in the fold.⁸⁶ While on the coast he was engaged in instructing

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 115, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, May 1560.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 151, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560.

⁸⁶ Leite, *História*, II, 438.

and ministering to slaves, Indians and whites, in São Vicente and on the sugar plantations and farms scattered along the coast.⁸⁷ Most fruitful was the work among the women and the slaves. In May and June of 1560 he was in São Vicente. During the Lenten season of 1561 he was in Piratininga, directing Lenten activities for which Indians had gathered from great distances. In June of 1561 he wrote a letter from São Vicente. In November of that same year he returned to Piratininga to play an important role in the suppression of an uprising on the part of the friendly Tupis, and a series of attacks by the hostile Tamóios which threatened the very existence of São Paulo.

The Indian wars of 1561-1562 can be traced in great part to the instigation of the hostile French traders established at Rio de Janeiro, and the presence of Villegaignon's colony off the Bay of Guanabara. Tamóios of the region, who were enemies of the Tupis, gained confidence in their strength and began to ascend the Paraíba and prowl about Piratininga, killing and stealing with increasing boldness and violence. This problem had always required constant vigilance, but now a crisis was definitely at hand. The destruction of Villegaignon's stronghold in 1560 was an important step in the solution of the problem; but French traders remained around the bay, egging-on the Tamóios and other Indian tribes hostile to the Portuguese. Anchieta wrote:

As for the Indians of the interior, often we are at war with them, and they are a constant threat. . . . Also the hostile tribes, making continuous assaults upon the settlements, destroy the produce and carry off many captives.⁸⁸

To be able to live in peace, and to open the way for conversion among the hostile Tamóios and their Tupi confederates, the residents of Piratininga, including some of mixed blood, decided to organize a military expedition against the enemy. Two Jesuits accompanied the expedition. Anchieta remained at Piratininga, leading the people in public prayer and penance. The campaign was successful, and encouraged by the victory it was now decided to make war on the enemy until all resistance was broken.⁸⁹ The importance of this decision became even more evident when at this time, unexpectedly, most of the hitherto friendly Tupis of

⁸⁷ CJ, III, 169, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 12, 1561.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 156, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, June 1, 1560. On the relation of the French at Rio to this Indian problem at Piratininga, see *ibid.*, 157-160.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 171-173.

the surrounding area joined the enemy in raids on the Christian settlements. Anchieta refers to this group as "thieves within our own house," for they were Indians who, having mingled among their tribesmen in Piratininga, knew the settlement well, its approaches, and the easiest points to attack.⁹⁰ These developments gave new courage to the enemy, who now planned the destruction of São Paulo de Piratininga, "which, on the edge of the frontier, is the key to the security of the Christian settlements along the coast."⁹¹

A friendly Indian who lived among the enemy gave warning of the impending attack, and the defense of the settlement was carefully organized before the first blow was struck. Loyal Indians, armed with their weapons of war, gathered from seven or eight surrounding *aldeias*. And the loyal Tibiriçá, chief of the *aldeia* of Piratininga even before the Jesuits had established their mission there, ever faithful since his conversion to Christianity, ordered his people, who had established themselves in three small near-by *aldeias* when the residents of Santo André had moved to São Paulo, to abandon their labors in the fields and hasten to the defense of the threatened Christian settlement. The attack began on the morning of July 9, 1562, and the battle raged for two days at the approaches to the besieged stronghold. Most of the women and children sought protection in the Jesuit residence and church, "where some of the women of mixed blood spent the whole night in prayer, . . . and left the walls spattered with blood from the whips with which they flogged themselves, which, I am certain, played as important a part in the defeat of the enemy as the arrows and arquebuses."⁹² Finally, after inflicting much damage, and wounding many of the defenders, the enemy fled, unable to dislodge the besieged. São Paulo was saved. Because of its precarious defense, this was perhaps the greatest threat to the survival of the settlement since its founding. Anchieta, in his classic account of the attack, praises highly the courageous leadership of Tibiriçá as a decisive factor in the

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 181. Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, April 16, 1563. This is the famous letter which contains the classic account of the attack on Piratininga in 1562. Afrâncio Peixoto refers to the letter as "an epic page in the history of Brazil. . . . It was read in the schools of Brazil to arouse national patriotism" (*Ibid.*, 23).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 182. São Paulo de Piratininga was the second most prosperous settlement in the captaincy at this time; Santos was the most important, followed by São Paulo and São Vicente. (*Ibid.*, 178, Anchieta to the Father General, Piratininga, March 1562.)

⁹² *Ibid.*, 184, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, April 16, 1563.

victory. Historians agree that to the Jesuits goes the chief credit for saving the frontier outpost from destruction at this time. Southey writes: "The Jesuits saved Piratininga."⁹³

The war aided the missionary work of the Jesuits in more ways than one, for friendly Indians living in small *aldeias* in the environs of Piratininga now moved into the town for better protection, and there they could be more effectively Christianized.⁹⁴ The defense of Piratininga was a decisive step in the consolidation of Portuguese control in southern Brazil. The peace mission of Nóbrega and Anchieta to Ipêroig the following year, long contemplated by Nóbrega, followed by the founding of Rio de Janeiro, at which Anchieta was also present, were related episodes in the same story. Meanwhile, in December 1562, and during the Lenten season of 1563, Anchieta, serving Nóbrega as interpreter, accompanied the latter in extensive missionary work among the Portuguese, slaves, and Indians along the coast, visiting Santos, São Vicente, and Itanhaén, on the southern frontier six or seven leagues south of São Vicente, as well as the many surrounding sugar plantations, farms, and isolated cabins.⁹⁵

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(To be concluded in next number)

⁹³ Robert Southey, *History of Brazil*, 3 volumes, London, 1810, second edition, 1822, I, 298.

⁹⁴ CJ, III, 186, Anchieta to the Father General, São Vicente, April 16, 1563.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 188-192.

DOCUMENTS

The Sources of the Delisle Map of America, 1703

INTRODUCTION

It is quite generally recognized that the historical value of any map depends on the value of the sources whence the map-maker derived his information. The sources of the manuscript or printed maps of North America made between 1500 and 1750 are for the most part unknown to us, except in a very general way. Many of them are evidently copied or compiled from other maps, but the sources of the originals are either quite unknown or else their trustworthiness and accuracy cannot be settled.

The importance of the particular map discussed in this article will be evident from our description of it. The importance of the document which is here printed for the first time lies in the fact that it contains a list made by the author of the map himself, of all the sources which he utilized in making his map. With few exceptions these sources are available today. The lower half of this map is of special interest to us, for it embodies the first scientific survey of the Mississippi River from its mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony. It also shows the earliest extant accurate delineation of the Gulf Coast from Apalachee Bay to the Mississippi, since "the map of the coast line from Pensacola to Mobile and from there to the mouth of the Mississippi, if Sigüenza y Góngora actually drew one, has not come to light . . ." (I. A. Leonard, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693*, Albuquerque, 1939, 191, note 55).

The title of the upper half of the map representing North America between latitudes 39° and 78° reads as follows: Carte du Canada // ou de la // Nouvelle France // et des Découvertes qui y ont été faites // Dressée sur plusieurs Observations // et sur un grand nombre de Relations imprimées ou manuscrites // Par Guillaume De l'Isle Geographe // de l'Academie Royale des Sciences // A Paris // Chez l'Auteur sur le Quai de l'Horloge a l'Aigle d'Or // avec Privilege de sa Maj.^{te} pour 20 ans // 1703. //

The lower half, from N. latitude 8° to latitude 44° , has in greater detail the five degree band which overlaps the upper part. This sheet is entitled: Carte du Mexique // et de la Floride // des

Terres Angloises et des Isles Antilles // du Cours et des Environs de la Riviere de Mississipi // Dressée sur un grand nombre de mémoires // principalem^t sur ceux de M^{rs} d'Iberville et le Sueur // Par Guillaume De l'Isle Géographe // de l'Académie Royale des Scieces. // A Paris Chez l'Auteur sur le Quai de l'Horloge // Privilége // du Roy po^r 20. ans // 1703. // It has been recently reproduced by Sara J. Tucker in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, Volume II, Scientific Papers, Illinois State Museum, Part I, *Atlas*, Springfield, Illinois, 1942, pl. XIII.

The words "Par Guillaume De l'Isle" which appear in the titles of both sheets have been taken as evidence that Guillaume Delisle is the author of the map. In fact, it is generally believed that all the maps signed by Guillaume Delisle were made by him. The truth is, however, that the author of the first maps published under Guillaume's name was not Guillaume himself but his father, Claude Delisle. This conclusion was tentatively reached by Christian Sandler, in his *Die Reformation der Kartographie um 1700*, Munich and Berlin, 1905, 14-16. He wrote: "It has been the custom in the past to give all the credit to the son alone for the reform in map publishing initiated in 1700. Lelewel [J. Lelewel, *Géographie du moyen age*, 5 volumes in 4, Brussels, 1852-1857, II, 203] is the only one to speak of the Delisles." He then proceeds to discuss some of the letters of "Delisle" which appeared in the *Journal des Scavans* and in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, which seem to imply that the author of the maps and the globe of 1700, signed Guillaume Delisle, were the work of Claude.

Before giving the sources of the Delisle map of 1703, as they appear in the document printed below, we shall confirm Sandler's conclusion by presenting further evidence of the fact that Claude Delisle is indeed the author of not only the 1700 maps published under Guillaume's name, but also of the 1703 map itself and of the document printed herewith. That Guillaume collaborated with his father in the making of these maps is quite certain, but their true author is undoubtedly Claude. This was known in Paris, as is clear from the reply of the Sanson family to an article published in the *Mercure* shortly after Guillaume Delisle's death. (Cf. J. P. Nicéron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres . . .*, 43 volumes in 44, Paris, 1729-1745, XIII, 210-230.) In his last published paper which treats of the longitude of the mouth of the Mississippi, Guillaume Delisle calls attention to the fact that his father was the first to give it its

approximately correct position, and Sandler concludes that the Delisle who wrote to Cassini in defense of certain changes introduced in "his" maps is Claude. Sandler is also inclined to think that the father may be the author of a few short notices published a little later, but he adds: "More than this cannot now be determined with absolute certainty"; and he further observes that Claude's contribution became smaller and smaller as the years went by.

It is beyond the scope of this article to determine the share of each in the sixty maps published under the name of Guillaume between 1701 and 1720, the year of Claude's death. It is enough for our purpose to outline briefly the proof that the rightful author of the 1703 map is Claude Delisle. Even if he had wished to establish this point, Sandler would have been unable to do so, because he lacked the Delisle papers and sketches.

The Delisle papers are in volume 115 of the Archives du Service Hydrographique (ASH), a volume composed of thirty-seven *cartons* (boxes) forming a sub-series known as "Manuscrits Delisle." These boxes "are in reality in-folio volumes, each made up of bundles containing a certain number of *pièces*, . . . On each *pièce*, is found, in the handwriting of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, the number of the portfolio, the number of the bundle in the portfolio, and a letter indicating the place of the *pièce* in the bundle" (A. Isnard, "Joseph-Nicolas Delisle, sa biographie et sa collection de cartes géographiques à la Bibliothèque Nationale," *Bulletin de la Section de Géographie*, XXX, 1915, 59-60).

Three boxes (ASH, 115-9, 10, and 11) contain the papers pertaining to North America. Box 9, Amérique Septentrionale, 1535-1729, contains, besides an occasional original document, extracts by Claude and Guillaume Delisle from printed and manuscript sources. Box 10, Amérique Septentrionale, 1694-1722, is similar in contents, but the majority of extracts are in the handwriting of Claude and a few notes prefaced to *pièce* no. 1, are by Joseph-Nicolas, as are also most of the documents in Box 11, Amérique Septentrionale, 1619-1754. We may add that Box 12, Amérique Méridionale, 1593-1714, consists mainly of copies of journals and narratives of voyages to South America, and extracts from printed works, comprising forty *pièces* in all, seven by Claude, one by Joseph-Nicolas, and the rest by Guillaume Delisle.

As Isnard says in the above-mentioned article, the maps of Delisle "housed in the Dépôt de la Marine are a part of the

'Petites archives,' comprising portfolios 71-75 of the series 'Cartes géographiques anciennes.' It is a collection of manuscript and engraved maps, in which the maps of Guillaume Delisle are more numerous than those of Joseph-Nicolas." Portfolio 75 contains maps of Africa, 1-124, and of America, 125-296. Several years ago the originals of all extant maps of America in this portfolio were photostated for the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada, and were then reproduced from these photostats for the E. E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, where the present writer studied them. They will be referred to as Archives Nationales (AN), JJ, 75, the call-number given them in Ottawa, although from the depot where they are found it would perhaps have been better to refer to these maps as in ASH, JJ, 75.

A few words should be said with regard to the above-quoted statement of Isnard. It may be that in all five portfolios of Delisle maps there are more manuscript and engraved maps by Guillaume, but in portfolio 75, which was especially studied in view of determining the authorship of the map of 1703, the vast majority of sketches are in the handwriting of Claude Delisle, and in his letter to Cassini, he refers specifically to some of these sketches as having been made by himself.

Further information about the authorship of the early maps published by Delisle is found in the lawsuit brought against J. B. Nolin who was accused of having plagiarized the Delisle mappamundi published in 1700. (The petition to the king is in BN, MSS. fr., 6348:3-16; a printed copy containing the history of the case, the report of the experts, and the verdict of the court is in BN, MSS. fr., 22119.) Besides the mappamundi, five general maps, namely, of Europe, Asia, Africa, North and South America, also appeared in print in 1700, as well as the gores of a globe. All of these are signed by Guillaume Delisle. Now the gores of the globe are the work of Claude Delisle as can be seen from the declaration of the Abbé (later Cardinal) Dubois: "I, the undersigned, the former tutor of my Lord the Duke of Orleans, hereby certify, by order of His Royal Highness, that in the conferences which the Sieur de l'Isle had with his Lordship on History and Geography during the years 1689 and 1690, he showed him the drafts of the globes which have since been brought to light by the Sieur Guillaume, his son, and which are dedicated to H. R. H., and that in the month of November 1699, he presented them to him together with the mappamundi. Done at Paris, December 10, 1705. [Signed] DUBOIS" (BN, MSS. fr., 22119, page 13 of the printed copy).

Although this document of Dubois was unknown to him, Sandler had deduced from a study of the maps of 1700 that they were the work of Claude. An examination of the letter to Cassini, in which the writer accused Nolin of having copied "his" mappamundi, will show that Claude is the author of this map. The draft of the letter, incidentally, is in Claude's handwriting. One of the characteristics of the mappamundi is the position of the mouth of the Mississippi River, which is placed much farther east than had been customary until then. In the letter to Cassini, the writer explains why he has given this new position to the mouth of the Mississippi. As we have seen, Guillaume later claimed that his father was the first to establish correctly the position of the mouth of the river.

As for the 1700 map of America, the following is to be said. Among the Delisle maps and sketches, the earliest dated manuscript map is entitled: "Carte de la Nouvelle France et des Paÿs voisins 1696" (AN, JJ, 75-130). It was later redrawn (*ibid.*, 128), and printed (*ibid.*, 128bis). On all these maps the course of the Mississippi River is exactly the same as on the gore of the globe dedicated to the Duke of Chartes "Par son tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur G. De l'Isle Geograp^e." The draft of this globe, as we learned from the Abbé Dubois, was already made in 1689, that is, when Guillaume Delisle was fourteen years old. From all this evidence we may legitimately conclude that Claude Delisle is the author of the globe, of the mappamundi, and of the map of America printed after 1696 which is the basis of the map of 1703. Moreover, the drafts of this map (AN, JJ, 75-253; ASH, 140-4; AN, JJ, 75-14 and 15) are all in the handwriting of Claude Delisle. We make no reference to the manuscript drafts (AN, JJ, 75-253bis; SHB, C 4040-4) or to the map dated 1702 in the Archives des Affaires Étrangères, because these seem to have been made by professional draughtsmen. When we remember besides, that nearly all the regional sketches in AN, JJ, 75, were made by Claude Delisle, there is no room for doubt that he is the true author of the map of America of 1703. It is quite true that many of the extracts from printed or manuscript sources are in Guillaume's handwriting, but this is no indication that he is the author of the map.

We come now to a discussion of the sources of the 1703 map. The document printed below contains five pages in all, and the handwriting is that of Claude Delisle. We here reproduce the first part, which is strictly bibliographical, and covers nearly

four pages in the original. The second part entitled: "Carte de la Nouvelle Espagne, de la Floride des Terres Angloises et des Isles de l'Amerique dressée sur les memoires les plus recens par Guill. de Lisle de l'Academie Roiale des Sciences," was printed with slight changes in the *Mémoires de Trévoux* for April 1703 (pp. 673-678) by way of announcing the publication of the lower sheet of the map. The publication of the lower sheet would naturally merit a special notice, for Delisle knew that this part of his map of America, especially with regard to the Mississippi and the Gulf Coast, was more accurate than anything ever published before.

From the titles of the drafts previously referred to, as well as from the area represented on each draft, one can see that between 1701 and 1703, Delisle had not yet made up his mind about the final form in which this map should be published. He ultimately decided on a map representing the same area as the 1700 map of America, and had it engraved on two sheets merely for the sake of convenience.

It is manifestly out of the question to indicate the exact way in which Delisle represents on the map the information found in each particular source. Many of the details found in these sources appear not on the 1703 map but on later ones. Neither is it practicable to discuss the value of his sources. All that can be done within the limits of an article is to identify these sources and refer to books or articles where their value is discussed.

The document is printed exactly as Delisle wrote it. Those words from his writings which are italicized and placed in parentheses are deleted in the original.

JEAN DELANGLEZ

DOCUMENT

Livres mémoires Cartes imprimées ou M. S. dont on s'est servi pour dresser la Carte de (*la N^o. France*) Canada du Mississipi et de la Floride qui a été présenté à Mgr le C^{te} de Pontchartrain, Examinez et rec les uns par les autres.

DE LA FLORIDE ET DU MISSISSIPI

1527 La relation des voilages de Pamphile de Narvaes et d'alvar Nugnez surnommé Cabeça de Vacca dans la Floride l'an 1527.

Claude Delisle did not know Spanish. The extracts from writings in this language, the Perea document, for instance, were made by others. In 1703, there was no published French translation of *La relacion que*

dio Aluar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca . . . ; cf. *supra*, p. 224; bibliography in J. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, 8 volumes, Boston and New York, 1884-1889, II, 286-287, and in Hodge and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers of the Southern United States*, 10-11. There was, however, an Italian translation of Cabeza de Vaca's narrative published by Ramusio, *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi . . .*, 3 volumes, Venice, Vol. III, 1556, 310-330; and there was also an English rendering, or rather paraphrase, in S. Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, London, 1625, IV, 1499-1556, but we do not know whether Delisle was acquainted with either of these two languages.

Two of his sketches express cartographically the "Route de Narvaéz et de Cabeça de Vaca depuis 1527 jusqu'en 1536 dans la Floride jusqu'au Mexique," AN, JJ, 75-229. Under the second title of this first sketch, there is the following reference in the handwriting of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle: "v. Laet descr, des Ind. Occid. liv. IV Ch. III. et Ramusio Tome 3, p. 310-331." This particular sketch is not based on the third chapter of Book IV of *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde ou Description des Indes Occidentales Contenant dix-huit Liures, . . . Par le Sieur Iean de Laet, d'Anuers, Leyden, 1640*; but the other sketch entitled "Route du voyage de Narvaez en Floride l'an 1528," AN, JJ, 75-230, is the text of De Laet in map form.

In the draft of his letter to Cassini, published in the *Journal des Scavans*, May 10, 1700, 201-206, reprinted in J. F. Bernard, *Recueil de voyages au Nord*, 1732, IV, 555-568, Claude Delisle wrote: "J'ai lu avec attention les avantures de Pamphyle de Narvaes et de Cabeça de vacca, le voyage de Ferdinand de Soto tant celui qui a été composé par Garcilaso de la Vega que celui qui a été fait par un Gentilho. d'Elvas en Port. et qui fut tiré il y a quelques années de la Bibliotheque de M^r Buttau pour être donné au public, j'ai même fait une carte sur laquelle j'ai marqué les routes de Cabeca de vacca et de Ferdinand de Soto autant que l'obscurité de la matière me l'a pu permettre," ASH, 115-10:no. 17 B. To clarify the "obscurity" mentioned here, Claude Delisle prepared a set of "Questions sur la Route de Soto," and "Pour la route de Cabeça de Vacca," ASH, 115-10:no. 17 X; the latter questions deal almost exclusively with Cabeza de Vaca's odyssey across the continent from the Texas coast.

1539 La Conquête de la Floride par Ferdinand de Soto l'an 1539 écrite par un gentilhōe de Portugal de la ville d'Elvas qui accompagna Soto.

Delisle made use of the French translation entitled: *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride, par les Espagnols, sous Ferdinand de Soto. Ecrite en Portugais par un Gentil-homme de la ville d'Elvas*, Paris, 1685. The translator M[onsieur] D[e] C[itry], was Samuel de Broë, Seigneur de Citry et de La Guette. The geographical information extracted from this book by Guillaume Delisle is in ASH, 115-9:no. 3.

Bibliography in *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*. 76th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 71, Washington, D. C., 1939, 4-11. For the use made by Delisle of the Gentleman of Elvas' narrative, cf. B. Boston, "The Route of De Soto: Delisle's Interpretation," *MID-AMERICA*, XXI (October 1939), 277-297, especially 287-289. Delisle made three sketches of the route of De Soto, two based on the complete text as translated by M. de Citry, AN, JJ, 75-231, and 231bis⁽²⁾, and one based on De Laet's abridgment, *ibid.*, 231bis. These sketches, as appears from the passage quoted in the preceding entry, were already made in 1700.

1562 La même histoire écrite par l'Inca Garcilasso de la vega sur les memoires d'un au. qui avoit aussi été dans cette expedition.

Delisle made use of Pierre Richelet's French adaptation of the original Spanish: *Histoire de la conquête de la Floride ou Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans la découverte de ce Pays par Ferdinand de Soto*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1670. Of this adaptation it has been truly said: "To any one at all acquainted with the courtly ponderosity of Garcilaso's production . . . , the condensation by Richelet, the only attempt to publish a translation in any language, is little other than a work of genius," *Final Report*, 8. In condensing the Spanish text, however, Richelet omitted no detail as to nomenclature, distances, or directions. I found no Delisle sketch based on the condensation of Garcilaso de la Vega's narrative.

1562 Les voages et les établissemens faits en Floride par les S^r Ribaud et Laudonieres en 1562 et les suivans et l'expedition faire par le s^r de Gourgues.

The sketch map which illustrates these voyages is entitled: "Tiré de la Relation de la floride (*de M^r Basanier*) ou sont décrits les voages de Ribaut de Laudoniere & de Gourges," AN, JJ, 75-232. The words deleted enable us to identify the source to which this entry refers, namely, *L'histoire notable de la Floride . . . , Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier*, first published in Paris in 1586; on this compilation cf. Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II, 293. Below the title of the sketch map is a note by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle referring to the account of the French in Florida as found in De Laet, "liv. 4. Ch. 9 & suiv. v. p. 117 et suiv."

1667 Description d'une p^{tie} de la Floride sur les mémoires de M^r Bristok et Grevius qui étoient établis sur les lieux.

I have been unable to identify the "mémoires" here mentioned, or to find any reference to their authors in any book or document.

Les relations de la N^{ie} Fr dans quelques unes desquelles il est

parlé de la R. de Missis. et des pais voisins sur le rapport des sauvages.

Cf. *infra*.

1611 (*L'histoire de la N^{re} France par Lescarbot des en 1611 qui rapporte Les ex*) voyages et les Découvertes de Jaques Quartier en 1534 de Champlain de Monts de Poutrincourt et autres l'année 1603 et les suivantes.

The words deleted identify the source utilized by Delisle: *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, . . . Par Marc Lescarbot, Paris, 1609. The geographical extracts are in ASH, 115-9: no. 4. On each one of the six sketches showing these voyages, Cartier, AN, JJ, 75-158, 159, 160; Champlain, *ibid.*, 162, 163; De Monts and Poutrincourt, *ibid.*, 171, Lescarbot is also given as the source.

1632 et suivantes. 39 relations de la N^{re} France par les Jésuites ou les Recollets depuis 1632 jusqu'a 1671.

There are twenty-six consecutive sketches based on these relations. The first two are entitled: "Voyage du Pere Theodat Recollet au pays des Hurons lan 1632," and "Retour du P. Theodat Recollet du pays des Hurons a Kebec l'an 1632," AN, JJ, 75-172 and 173; the book used is Sagard's *Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons*, . . . , Paris, 1632. The other twenty-four sketches have the geographical information contained in the Jesuit *Relations de la Nouvelle-France* from 1632 to 1672, AN, JJ, 75-174 to 187, and 189 to 198. All these sketches were made by Claude Delisle, but the "Extraits historiques et géographiques des missions de la Nouvelle France depuis 1632 jusqu'en 1672," in ASH, 115-9: no. 6, were made by Guillaume.

1669 Relation m. s. des voyages de M^r d'Olier et Galinet en Canada ou il a plus^{re} hauteurs observées.

Delisle had a copy, ASH, 115-9: no. 4, of "Ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans le voyage de M[essieu]rs D'Olier et Galinée," BN, MSS. fr. n. a., 7485:1-25, printed in P. Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 6 volumes, Paris, 1876-1888, I, 112-166. The anonymous sketch, AN, JJ, 75-152, is based on the map of Galinée for all that pertains to the three lower lakes, but later information has been added to it. P. J. Robinson, *The Canadian Historical Review*, XX (1939), 293, thinks this is Galinée's "second and more detailed map." I cannot concur with this opinion. There is an error in the reference which he gives, AN, JJ, 75-206; the latter representing Lakes Ontario, Erie, and Huron, is a sketch map of the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Note. At this point Delisle repeated the entry dated 1667 above, and he listed the Galinée's document a second time, but he himself cancelled these two entries.

Description des Côtes de la N^e Fr. avec la Carte de M^r Denys.

The book referred to here is Nicolas Denys' *Description géographique et historique des costes de l'Amérique Septentrionale. Avec l'Histoire naturelle du pays*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1672. The sketch based on this book is entitled "Tiré de (La d) l'histoire naturelle du Canada ou N^{le} france," AN, JJ, 75-166.

plus^{re} cartes de divers endroits de Canada communiquées par M. l'abbé Bernou.

The "several" maps here mentioned cannot be identified with certainty. I am inclined to believe that Bernou's sketches of the Great Lakes are meant. Cf. J. Delanglez, *Some La Salle Journeys*, Chicago, 1938, 10-12, 34-35; *id.*, *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, Chicago, 1941, 111-119. See *ibid.*, 54, for the relations between Bernou and Delisle.

Cartes de Canada de M. Franclin.

It is impossible to say precisely which maps of Franquelin are meant. In the Delisle-Nolin lawsuit, a "copie de la carte de tout le Canada faite par le sieur Franclin," and a "copie d'autre carte du même Autheur representant le pais des Sioux le long du Mississippi," were presented as evidence, BN, MSS. fr., 22119, p. 5, of the printed copy. Cf. also "Franquelin, Mapmaker," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV (January 1943), 69.

Carte marine de l'embouch. de la R. de St. Laurent par M. des Hayes.

The full title of this map will be found in G. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France, Supplément à l'ouvrage de M. Harrisse*, Paris, 1885, 31, no. 83. Marcel adds in a note: "La date approximative est donnée par l'observation de la variation du compas à Québec 1686"; the letter which Deshayes sent to Seignelay together with this map is dated November 14, 1685, ASH, 111-1: no. 4. In the Delisle-Nolin lawsuit a "réduction de la Carte de la rivière de Saint Laurent faite par le sieur des Hayes" was also presented as evidence. AN, JJ, 75-144, is the call number of a sketch map, attributed to Deshayes, showing the St. Lawrence between Montreal and Detroit. On Deshayes himself, cf. J. E. Roy, "La cartographie et l'arpentage sous le régime français," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, I, 1895, 36; [P.-G. Roy], "Jean Deshayes, hydrographe du Roi," *ibid.*, XXII, 1916, 128-138, and XXXVIII, 1932, 281.

1673 Découverte du Mississipi par le S^r Joliet en 1673 écrite par le P. Marquette qui y etoit.

The source thus described is a book by Melchissédec Thévenot, entitled *Recueil de voyages de Mr. Thevenot*, Paris, 1681. From this book are taken the geographical extracts by Guillaume Delisle, ASH, 115-9: no. 9. The identity of this source is further established by a reference to Claude Delisle's sketch map, AN, JJ, 75-235. This map is entitled: "Voyage du P. Marquette et de M^r Joliet dans la Louisiane depuis le 42 degré jusqu'au 33° (fait en 1673)," and immediately below the title is the following note in the handwriting of Joseph-Nicolas Delisle: "tiré du receuil des voyages de Thevenot imprimé à Paris en 1681 in 8°." That Marquette was not the author of this narrative is a fact of which Claude Delisle was not aware.

Carte m. s. de cette découverte du même Joliet présentée à M. de Frontenac autre que celle qui est dans le livre imprimé qui m'a été communiquée par M. l'abbé Bernou.

The printed book referred to is Thévenot's *Recueil*, and the map which it contains is well known. The first map mentioned is one made by Claude Bernou himself, ASH, 115-10: no. 17 X, erroneously called "Joliet's smaller map," SHB, B 4044-49, facsimile in G. Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI^e au XVII^e siècle avec le texte explicatif*, Paris, 1892, pl. 27. This is a reduction of the misnamed "Joliet Larger Map," SHB, B 4044-37. I formerly thought that the author of this map might have been Hugues Randin; cf. *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, 109. But a closer study of Franquelin's cartographical work led me to the conclusion that he, rather than Randin, was its author; cf. "Franquelin, Mapmaker," MID-AMERICA, XXV (January 1943), 54.

1683 Decouverte de la même R. par M. de la Salle écrit par le P. Hennepin en 1683 sous le titre de Description de la Louisiane.

This entry explicitly contains the title of the source referred to. The geographical information extracted from it by Guillaume Delisle is in ASH, 115-9: no. 9. Three sketches showing the voyages of Father Hennepin were made by Claude; cf. *Hennepin's Description of Louisiana*, 154.

Carte de Mississipi faite par M. de la Salle.

This very important map is no longer extant. Only Franquelin's version of 1684 (cf. MID-AMERICA, XXV (January 1943), 59-61) and Minet's "Carte de la Louisiane," SHB, C 4044-4, have come down to us. The latter map is reproduced in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, pl. VII. On La Salle's maps, cf. *Some La Salle Journeys*, 34, note 51.

Journal ms très ample du voyage de M. de la Salle par mer à la Riv. de Missis. en 1684 écrit par le s^r (Jouventel) Joustel qui m'a été communiqué par M. d'Iberville.

For an analysis of this manuscript, cf. J. Delanglez, ed., *The Journal of Jean Cavelier. The Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition 1684-1688*, Chicago, 1938, 11 ff.

Le même voyage écrit par M. d'Amanville qui y étoit allé avec M. de Beaujeu.

An extract taken by Claude Delisle from this journal of M. d'Esmansville, ASH, 115-9: no. 12 B, is printed in Margry, II, 510-517.

Relations faites par N. sur les mémoires de M. Cavelier frere de M. de la Salle et qui l'avoit accompagné dans ce voyage.

On this entry cf. J. Delanglez, "The Authorship of the Journal of Jean Cavelier," *MID-AMERICA*, XXV (July 1943), 220-221.

Quelques instructions données de vive voix a l'auteur par lesd. Sieurs Cavelier d'Amanville et de Beaujeu.

About this entry we have the following data. Claude Delisle wrote to Cassini: "J'ai entretenu M. de Beaujeu et Mr. Cavelier frere de M. de la Salle et qui l'a accompagné dans son dernier voyage, j'ai (*outre*) u (*quelques*) plusieurs conferences avec feu Mr. d'Amanville (*qui a été*) prêtre habitué à St. Sulpice et qui a été dans cette expédition, je l'ai dis-je entretenu plusieurs fois sur cette matière avant et après son départ. . . . Quoiqu'il en soit Mr. de la Salle en allant à cette baie de St. Louis [Matagorda Bay] fit route presque toujours droit à l'ouest comme je l'ai appris de Mrs de Beaujeu et d'Amanville. . . ." ASH, 115-10: no. 17 B. This passage together with the above entry is a further indication of the fact that Claude, and not Guillaume Delisle, is the true author of the map of 1700. In 1684, when M. d'Esmansville left Paris to go with La Salle to the Gulf of Mexico, Guillaume Delisle was nine years old.

2 Cartes de 2 endroits de la Cote faites par le sr. Minuty qui étoit sur le même vaisseau.

Delisle here refers to two tracings which he himself made. The first one, in duplicate, is entitled: "Plan de l'entrée du Lac ou on a laissé M. de la Salle . . . Minuty delineavit," AN, JJ, 75-258; the duplicate is in color. The other tracing is entitled: "Plan de la Coste de la Floride la plus Occidentale depuis 27 jusqua 29 deg. de latitude . . . Minuty fecit," AN, JJ, 75-233. The Minuty here mentioned is the engineer Minet. The originals are in ASH, 138-1-1, and 138^{bis}-1-1 respectively. Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville also made a copy

of the second, BN, Ge DD 2987-8839. Besides securing Beaujeu's report on La Salle's voyage to the coast of Texas (cf. W. J. O'Donnell, "La Salle's Occupation of Texas" *MID-AMERICA*, XVII (April 1936), 120-124), Don Pedro Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador to England, also obtained copies of these two maps, AGI, Seville, 61-6-20 (2) and (3). The French legends of the originals are translated into Spanish. Cf. P. Torres Lanzas, *Relación Descriptiva de los Mapas, Planos &, de México y Floridas existentes en el Archivo General de Indias*, 2 volumes, Seville, 1900, I, nos. 63 and 64.

Carte ms. du Golfe de Mexique communiquée par M. de Beaujeu.

Neither this map nor a tracing of it is among the Delisle sketches. Claude Delisle wrote to Cassini in 1700: "J'ai veu deux cartes ms. du pays l'une de la cote qui vient de Mr. de Beaujeu . . ." ASH, 115-10: no. 17 B.

Carte ms. de M. de Louvigny de la Riv. de Mississipi et des environs sur les relations de plus^rs françois qui étoient allez avec M. de la Salle accompagnée de plusieurs remarques.

Several pages of notes taken by Guillaume Delisle are entitled "tiré de la Carte de Mississipi de M. de Louvigny," ASH, 115-9: no. 14. Louvigny's memoir is printed in Margry, IV, 9-18. His map, SHB, C 4040-10, is reproduced in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, pl. XIV.

Carte d'une p^tie des Cotes qui sont vers l'embouchure de la R. de St. Laurent avec une instruction sur les dist^ces.

This map is AN, JJ, 75-204.

Carte de la Baye de Hudson (*et de la terre*) par le S. Joliet.

The call number of the original which is dated 1684 and dedicated to Lefebvre de la Barre, Governor of New France, is ASH, 123-8-1.
au. carte de la Baye de Hudson par un pilote.

This "other map" may be the "Carte des Costes de l'Amerique Septentrionale et des terres nouvellement decouvertes par Pierre Alemand . . ." of 1687, ASH, 124-8-1.

au. carte de la même baye par M. d'Iberv.

This is one of the four maps of Hudson Bay which were presented as evidence in the plagiarism lawsuit; BN, MSS. fr., 22119, p. 5 of the printed copy.

au. Carte ms du Sr. Joliet d'une p^tie du Canada ou est marqué son chemin depuis Tadoussac jusqu'à la Baye de Hudson.

The map here referred to was made by Jolliet upon returning from his voyage to Hudson Bay. It is dated Quebec, November 9, 1679. The original is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Cartes*, Vol. 388 (153), facsimile reproduction in A.-L. Pinart, *Recueil de Cartes, Plans et Vues relatifs aux Etats-Unis et au Canada . . .*, Paris, 1893, pl. 23. Cf. Marcel, *Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, 9, no. 10. The information contained in all these Hudson Bay maps is embodied in the draft AN, JJ, 75-141.

Nouvelle description de la Gaspesie par le même auteur et de la même année.

The words "by the same author and of the same year," refer to the next entry. The book is the *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspesie*, by Chrestien Le Clercq, Paris, 1691. The pertinent geographical extracts are found in ASH, 115-9: no. 7.

1691 Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France par le P. le cleric recollet en 1692 ou est décrit le même voyage de M. de la Salle sur les mémoires du P. Anastase.

This refers to Chrestien Le Clercq, *Premier Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle France*, 2 volumes, Paris, 1691. Geographical extracts in ASH, 115-9: no. 7. Two of Claude Delisle's sketches, AN, JJ, 75-168 and 169, based on the text of Le Clercq's *First Establishment of the Faith*, cover the area from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Illinois River.

Remarques du sr Jouventel sur cette relation.

Cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 9-11.

Carte m. s. des environs de Mont Louis sur la R. de S^t Laurent dressée sur les mémoires de M. Riverin.

I cannot find this map among the Delisle sketches.

(Plus^{rs} remarques route observ. et distances tirées de communiquées) Plus^{rs} (au.) routes distances et observations tant p^r la Côte que p^r le dedans du pais communiquées ou tirees de vive voix par M de Courtemanche, de plus^{rs} autres personnes qui ont été dans le pais.

The sketches AN, JJ, 75-205 and 300 embody information received from the sources described in this entry. "M. de Courtemanche" is Augustin Le Gardeur de Courtemanche; cf. P.-G. Roy, *Inventaire de Pièces sur la côte de Labrador . . .*, 2 volumes, Quebec, 1940-1942, I, 16-17.

1697 Les découvertes de M. de la Salle écrites par le P. Hennepin

imprimées en Holl. et dédiées au feu Roi d'Anglet. Guill. III, l'an 1697.

This is the *Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays situé dans l'Amerique entre le Nouveau Mexique et la Mer Glaciale, . . .* of Father Hennepin, Utrecht, 1697. Geographical extracts in ASH, 115-9: no. 9.

1697 Dernières découvertes de l'Amerique sept. mises au jour par M. de Tonty en 1697.

This refers to *Dernières decouvertes dans l'Amerique Septentriionale de M. de la Salle; Mises au jour par M. le chevalier Tonti, gouverneur du Fort St Louis, aux Islinois*, Paris, 1697. Cf. *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*, 20-22. For the geographical extracts by Guillaume Delisle, see ASH, 115-10: no. 3.

Remarques M. s. sur cette relation par le sr Jouventel.

Pertinent passages from these "remarks" of Joutel are quoted throughout *The Journal of Jean Cavelier*.

Journal m. s. du 1^{er} voyage de M. d'Iberville à la riv. de Missis. l'an 1698 écrit par lui-même.

This journal was copied by Guillaume Delisle, ASH, 115-10: no. 4, and is printed in Margry, IV, 131-209.

Autre journal du même voyage par le P. Anastase Recollet.

This journal seems to be lost.

Extraits de quelques lettres de M. d'Iberville (*sur le*) et de quelques gardes marines sur le même sujet.

Some of Iberville's letters relating to his first voyage are in Margry, IV, 87-89, 90-91, 95-100, 100-103, 116-128. Extracts by Claude Delisle from a letter of a garde-marine, Hannivel de Ste. Colombe, dated Rochefort, July 4, 1699, are in ASH, 115-10: no. 6. "Enfin j'ai aussi la copie d'une lettre de M. de Ste. Colombe qui étoit sur ces vaisseaux," draft of Claude Delisle's letter to Cassini, ASH, 115-10: no. 17 B. He may also have had the "Plan de la Coste de la Floride . . .," by the garde-marine Ste. Marie, BN, MSS. fr. n. a., 21399:377, or a copy of two variants of this map in ASH, 138-6-2 and 3. Cf. Perinet to Pontchartrain, May 4, 1700, ASH, 111-1: no. 20.

(Voiag) Lettres de Mrs de Montigny de St. Cosme et de la Source missionnaires contenant leur voyage de Kebec à la R. de Missis. l'an 1699.

Claude Delisle copied four letters written by these three missionaries, ASH, 115-10: no. 13. The journal of M. de St. Cosme was trans-

lated into English from the original by L. P. Kellogg, *Early Narratives of the Northwest 1634-1699*, New York, 1917, 342-361. The French text of this journal published by Shea in the Cramoisy series, no. 15, *Relation de la Mission du Mississippi du Séminaire de Québec en 1700*, New York, 1861, is from a defective copy in AN, K 1374: no. 81. In the same publication is the letter of Thaumur de la Source, dated Chicago, April 19, 1699, and one of the two letters of M. de Montigny addressed to a "Rev. Mother"; both are from AN, K 1374: nos. 83 and 84. The other letter of M. de Montigny dated "Mississipi, May 6, 1699," has not been published.

1700 Journal du 2^e voyage de M. d'Iberville à la même Riv.

Geographical extracts by Guillaume Delisle with supplement by Claude in ASH, 115-10: no. 4. Margry, IV, 395-435, printed this journal.

Carte de la partie basse de Mississipi et d'une partie de la Côte communiquée par M. d'Iberville avec les instructions pour (evite) corriger les fautes qui y sont.

This map is perhaps the sketch entitled "Embouchure du Mississipi," AN, JJ, 75-244.

lettre de M. le Sueur qui a fait le même voyage en forme de Journal écrite de 45 lieues de l'embouchure de Mississipi.

A copy of this letter is among the papers of Father Léonard de Ste Catherine de Sienne, BN, MSS. fr., 9097:101-104v. On these papers see "Tonti Letters," MID-AMERICA, XXI (July 1939), 210-212.

Journal du Chevalier de Bouloc garde marine qui étoit sur les memes vaisseaux.

Extracts from this journal by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10: no. 8; comments on the information therein are scattered throughout ASH, 115-10: no. 17 Z.

Lettres historiques imprimées en Hollande sur le même sujet.

I have been unable to identify this printed collection of letters.

Voyage de Mr. de Bienville des Taensas aux Yatachés.

A copy of this document is in ASH, 115-9: no. 12. Margry, IV, 432-44, printed this journal from another copy of it in the Moreau de Saint-Méry Collection.

(Journal) Mémoires de M. d'Iberville dans son 3^e voyage.

The geographical extracts taken from Iberville's journal by Claude

Delisle are in ASH, 115-10:no. 19; the journal is printed in Margry, IV, 503-523.

Le voyage de M. de Tonty aux Chactas et aux Chicachas.

Extracts by Claude Delisle in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Z. He also made extracts from two letters of Tonti to Iberville, dated February 23 and March 14, 1702, respectively, ASH, 115-10:no. 20.

Quantité de remarques apprises de vive voix de M. d'Iberville ou tirées de ses brouillons longitudes et Latitudes observées ou estimées par lui-même, distances qu'il a pareillement estimées ou qu'il a apprises des sauvages.

These "remarks" are in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 *passim*, especially in *pièces Q, Y, and Z*. In the latter document a table of longitudes and latitudes is followed by comments which show how closely Claude Delisle studied the information supplied by the explorer: "Il ne faut pas aveuglem. deferer a ces long. et lat. car si la pointe de la Mobile est à 30 d. 5 m. de lat. l'Isle du massacre ne peut pas être à 30 d. 7 m. plus [sic] qu'elle est plus N. que cette pointe."

Divers croquis faits par lui-même de l'embouchure de Mississipi de la Baye et de la Riviere de la Mobile et du port de Pensacola.

AN, JJ, 75-239, 240, 241, 244, 244bis, 250, are sketches of these different places on the Gulf Coast, but I am unable to identify those made by Iberville himself.

Memoires de M. le Sueur qui a remonté la Riv. de Missis. depuis le portage des égarez jusqu'environ 100 l. plus haut que la R. St. Pierre et cette même Rivière de St. Pierre jusqu'à la R. verte, qui est ensuite descendu par ces mêmes Riv. jusqu'à la mer et qui a marqué la boussole à la main leurs tours et leurs détours les Isles et les au. Riv. à droite et à gauche qui a pris hauteur en plus" endroits et qui a demeuré 9 ou 10 ans parmi les sioux.

In the notice written by Claude Delisle, which he sent to the editors of the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, the geographer acknowledges his special debt to Pierre-Charles Le Sueur. Years later, when his son, Joseph-Nicolas, went through the papers and maps of his father and of his brother Guillaume, he referred to Le Sueur as "cet habile voyageur," note on the map AN, JJ, 75-155.

A few years ago while I was gathering materials for a book on the Cartography of the Mississippi Valley, 1673-1703, Dr. W. G. Leland kindly put at my disposal a manuscript inventory of the Archives du Service Hydrographique made by D. W. Parker. In the copy book in which the Delisle papers are inventoried is the following entry: "ASH,

115-10. Amérique Septentrionale, 1694-1722, no. 9, Mémoires de Mr. Le Sueur." The contents of these memoirs are then given:

1°) Son départ du Cap François dans l'Isle de St. Domingue, le 22 Décembre, 1699, d'où il est arrivé à l'embouchure du Mississippi en Janvier 1700.

2°) Depuis le 8 Janvier jusqu'au 2 Mars 1700.

3°) La route en remontant le Mississippi depuis le 30° jusqu'à 44° 13', depuis le 2 Mars jusqu'au 7 Octobre 1700.

4°) Le retour de la Rivière Verte jusqu'à l'embouchure du Mississippi, depuis le 14 Mai 1701 jusqu'au 10 Août.

5°) Son départ du fort des Biloxi le 16 Janvier 1702 pour la Mobile et Pensacola, de là à la Havane le 28 Avril 1702, d'où il arrive en France le 20 Juin 1702.

6°) Des remarques et observations sur son voyage.

7°) Autres remarques tirées de vive voix de M. Le Sueur par mon frère et mon père l'an 1699, — item l'an 1702. [This title was given by Joseph-Nicolas Delisle.]

8°) Extraits par Claude Delisle. Ces extraits sont tirés des lettres et Journaux suivants de Le Sueur:

1700, Février 27, à 45 lieues de l'embouchure du Mississippi. [Cf. *supra*; a copy of this letter is in BN, MSS. FR., 9097:101-104v.]

1700, Avril 4, Aux Natchez. Journal de route du 8 Janvier 1700 au 4 Avril. [An extract from this journal is in BN, MSS. FR. N. A., 21395: 5-13.]

Suite du Journal du 9 Avril 1700 au 25 Juin 1700 (dans lettre non datée).

Suite du Journal du 12 Juillet 1700 au 27 Juin 1702.

These memoirs of Le Sueur and the extracts by Claude Delisle make up one hundred closely written pages. Of this material only the following items are at present available in this country. The two documents in the Bibliothèque Nationale which were photographed for the Library of Congress; some notes appended to the Relation of Péni-caut, Margry, IV; some extracts in the sixth volume of this compilation; and the abridgment of Le Sueur's journal in Bénard de la Harpe, *Journal Historique de l'Etablissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831. Owing to the conditions prevailing in France since 1939, it was impossible to have these documents photographed. Unfortunately, when the papers in this repository were being transcribed or photographed for the Library of Congress, Le Sueur's report which is that of the first scientific survey of the Mississippi River from its mouth to the Falls of St. Anthony was overlooked.

This oversight was somewhat remedied by Dr. Karpinski who had a photograph made of a Delisle map of the whole course of the Mississippi based on Le Sueur's memoirs. The map divided into five parts shows the course of the river from its headwaters at latitude 49° to

the Gulf. Only the mouth of most of the tributaries is shown, but the full length of some of the affluents is drawn. The map is entitled: "Carte de la Riviere de Mississipi sur les memoires de M^r le Sueur qui en a pris avec la boussole tous les tours et detours depuis la mer jusqu'a la Rivière S^t Pierre, et a pris la hauteur du pole en plusieurs endroits Par Guillaume De l'Isle Geographe de l'Academie Royale des Sciences 1702," ASH, 138bis-3-2. The course of the Mississippi River as it appears on this special map was inserted in that of 1703.

In the French Archives there are three variants of this Delisle map of the Mississippi River. On the one in SHB, C 4040-27, some of the tributaries are omitted; neither Lake Superior, nor "Lac des Assinipois" are shown, but the Gulf Coast extends to Pensacola Bay while on the original Delisle map the easternmost geographical feature is Bay St. Louis. Near the headwaters of the Mississippi, represented by small lakes, is the following legend: "Sources du Mississipi aux Environs de 48 deg^r de Latitude Sep^e et de 275 de Longitude." The second variant, reproduced in Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes et de globes*, pl. 39, is of a much later date as can be seen from the inscription: "Les Bayogoulas selon la carte executée en 1733." The third variant, ASH, 140-1-4, is by Philippe Buache who inserted the course of the Mississippi as it appears in the original Delisle map in his "Carte Reduite des Isles de l'Amerique et du Golfe du Mexique, . . . MDCCXXIV." The river is shown from its mouth to latitude 40°, the top of the map.

Extraits de plusieurs lettres de M. de Tonty (*communuez par M. de villermont*) avec un croqui de la Riv. de Mississipi et de celles qu'elle reçoit (*communuez par M. de Villermont.*)

This refers to two letters of Tonti dated February 28 and March 4, 1700, respectively. Extracts from the first and a copy of the second, by Claude Delisle, were published in *MID-AMERICA*, XXI (July 1939), 215-235. With regard to the "croquis" mentioned in the above entry, see *ibid.*, 214-215; the map by Jacques Bureau is reproduced in *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*, pl. XII.

Extraits de quelques autres lettres sur la Riviere d'Ouabache, et sur la route que tiennent les Anglois de la Caroline pour aller aux Chicachas et jusqu'à la Riv. de Mississipi, tirez des mémoires de M^rs d'Iberville et le sueur.

Some of the information based on these extracts will be found in ASH, 115-10:no. 17 Y and Z. Cf. also the narrative of Sauvolle dated August 4, 1701, AC, C 13A, 1:319, translated in D. Rowland and A. G. Sanders, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives 1701-1729, French Dominion*, Jackson, Mississippi, 1929, 14-15. Claude Delisle also made extracts, ASH, 115-10:no. 16, from a Sauvolle document which in-

cludes the narrative of this officer's voyage to the Tohome on the Mobile River, and which deals with notable happenings on the Gulf Coast between June and November 1701.

(Plusieurs) Quelques instructions qui m'ont été données par le P. Du Ru, sur (*la cote*) une p^{te} de la Cote et sur les Isles, (*sur la position de quelques peuples*) et sur le voyage qu'il a fait aux Colapissas et sur la position de quelques au. peuples.

Besides these "instructions" Delisle had Father Du Ru's journal from which he made a long extract; cf. J. Delanglez, *The French Jesuits in Lower Louisiana (1700-1763)*, Washington, D. C., and New Orleans, 1935, ix, 9 ff. Toward the end of his journal Du Ru narrates the journey to the Acolapissa villages.

P^r LES TERRES DES ANGLOIS

Les voyages de Narvaes de Soto de Ribaud de Laudonniere et au. dont il a été parlé ci d^t

(*Description d'une P^{te} da la Flor.*)

Mémoires de M^{rs} Bristok et Grevius dont il a pareilem. été parlé.

The items here referred to have already been described.

Livre intitulé les Colonies angloises en Amérique.

I have not been able to identify this book.

Plusieurs Cartes (*de l'Amerique septent^{ale}*) faites par les Anglois de l'Amérique septent^{le} de l'Amérique Angloise, de l'Empire Anglois de la Terre Neuve (*3 de la Caroline de divers auteurs, de la Pensylvanie*) du Nouveau Jersey, de la Pensylvanie, et 3 de la Caroline de differens auteurs.

The reduced copies made by Claude Delisle enable us to identify the maps referred to in this entry. Thus AN, JJ, 75-210, is a copy of the *Carte Nouvelle de l'Amerique Angloise . . . Dresse sur les Relations les Plus Nouvelles Par le Sieur S*, a Amsterdam, Chez Pierre Mortier Libraire. This map is not dated, but it appeared, no. 75, in the second volume of *Le Neptune françois* entitled *Suite du Neptune françois ou Atlas Nouveau des Cartes Marines. . . . A Amsterdam, Chez Pierre Mortier, Libraire, M. D. CC.*—The sketch AN, JJ, 75-213 is entitled "Reduction de la Carte du New Jersey de J. Seller & Guil. fisher."—For Pennsylvania, he used the map of Thomas Holme, AN, JJ, 75-217. Under the title of this map Claude Delisle noted: "Reduction de la Carte de Pennsylvania a la moitié Je n'ay retranché que les heritages et les noms des particuliers."—With regard to the three maps of Carolina mentioned in this entry, copies of two which appeared in the *Suite du*

Neptune françois, nos. 78 and 79, are found among his sketches. The "Carte generale de la Caroline . . . par le Sr S . . ." is undated in Mortier's atlas of 1700, but Claude Delisle wrote on his sketch of this map: "Cette carte a été apportée d'Holland [en] 1699." The differences between his copy of this map, AN, JJ, 75-223, and the model are explained in a note in the handwriting of Claude Delisle: "Jay ajouté ce quil y a de plus dans l'original Anglois dont l'auteur est Joel Gascoigne." The title of the other map of Carolina, AN, JJ, 75-224, reads: "Carte Particuliere de la Caroline . . . par le S^r S . . ."; it is also undated in Mortier's atlas, but as in the case of the preceding one, he noted that it was brought from Holland in 1699.—The map "de l'Empire Anglois," is probably *A New Map of the English Empire in America, . . . By Rob. Morden, London, [1695?]*.

Delisle copied other English maps, v. g., "Virginia Pars," AN, JJ, 75-22, showing the coast between latitudes 28° and 38° 30', and the interior as far as the Alleghenies; on the top of the sketch AN, JJ, 75-213bis, he wrote: "Tiré de La Carte intitulée A New Map of New England, imp. a Lond. Chez Thornton, sold by R. Morden." He also used the text of De Laet, Book III, as can be seen from the sketches AN, JJ, 75-211, 218, 219; and he combined the data from these sectional maps in the draft AN, JJ, 75-221.

POUR LES TERRES DES ESPAGNOLS

1 Histoire des Indes Occidentales par Lopes de Gomara.

This entry does not refer to the French translation of Gómara's book, *Histoire Generalle des Indes Occidentales, . . . traduite en François par le S. de Genillé Mart. Fumée*. Although at least nine editions of this translation had appeared by the end of the sixteenth century, Delisle made use of the Latin translation in *Cosmographia, siue Descriptio universi Orbis, Petri Apiani & Gemmae Frisij, . . .*, Antwerp, 1584, which reproduces the original more exactly. Compare, for instance, the Spanish and Latin texts, *supra*, 192, note 4, and 193, note 5 with that of Fumée, p. 14 of the 1587 edition: "Du goulfe Baxo, on met 400 mil iusqu'à la riuiere de las Nieuves: de là iusqu'au fleuve de Flores y a 200 mil, autāt iusqu'à el San Espirito, laquelle par vn autre nō on appelle la Culata, ell'a de costé 120 mil. De cette plage qui est à 29 degrez, y a plus de 280 mil isuques au fleuve de pescadores: . . ." The title of the sketch AN, JJ, 75-137 reads: "Route maritime des Costes de L'Amerique tirée de (*l'hi*) La description de l'Amerique de Lopéz de Gomera dans Appian."

2 Relation du Mexique par Thomas Gage Jacobin (qui y allat en 1625 &c).

Several French translations of Gage's *The English-American, his travail by sea and land: or, A New survey of the West India's, . . .*

London, 1648, were published at Amsterdam, before the end of the seventeenth century, v. g., *Nouvelle Relation, contenant les Voyages de Thomas Gage dans la Nouvelle Espagne, . . . , 2 volumes*, Amsterdam, 1695.

3 Les Découvertes du Nouveau Mexique ramassées par Laet.

See in Book IV of De Laet's *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde*. The following sketches, AN, JJ, 75-272, 275, 279, 280, are based on the text of De Laet, which is an abridgment of that of Herrera. In the notice sent to the editors of the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, Delisle says that the map of Mexico is based on Herrera's description of that country; cf. the title of AN, JJ, 75-278. There were two translations of Herrera's *Descripción de las Indias occidentales* which he could have used, one in Latin and one in French, both published at Amsterdam in 1622, *Novus Orbis, Sive Descriptio Indiae Occidentalis . . . , and Description des Indes Occidentales, Qu'on appelle aujourd'hui le Nouveau Monde*.

4 Relation de ce pais par le P. Alfonse de Benavides Custode des Cordeliers qui y sont établis v. mss.

This manuscript which was copied by Claude Delisle, ASH, 115-10: no. 5, is an abridgment of the French translation of Benavides' *Memorial*, published at Brussels in 1631, *Reqweste Remonstrative av Roy d'Espagne sur la conversion du Nouveau Mexico*. The sketch based on it is entitled: "Nouveau Mexique tiré de la relation d'Alfonse de Benavides imprimée à Madrid 1630 (dans Laet)," AN, JJ, 75-276. The words "dans Laet" must refer to the very abridged account in the 1640 French translation of De Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt oft Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*, for the sketch map has geographical details which are found in the *Reqweste* but not in De Laet's book.

5 autre relation m. s. du même pais faite par le P. Estevan de Perea qui m'a été communiquée par M. l'Abbé Bernou.

An extract from this relation in an unidentified hand in ASH, 115-9: no. 4². A, is entitled "Extrait d'une Relation du Nouveau Mexique écrite à la main par un Indien dans le pays Espagnol." *Incipit*: "Pendant l'année 1581 le P^o Augustin Rodriguez Religieux Cordelier vivoit parmi les Indiens appeler Conchos de la vallée de St^a Barbara." *Explicit*: "Elle [Rivière du Nord] entre dans la mer du Coté du Nord dans l'anse du Mexique avec trois lieues d'embouchure à 60 lieues avant d'arriver à la Guasteca." Parker entered the document as follows: "Extrait d'une relation du Nouveau Mexique écrite à la main en espagnol par un Indien dans le pays touchant ce que les pères de l'ordre de St. François ont fait dans le Nouveau Mexique depuis l'année 1581 par le P. Fray Estevan de Perea, prédicateur et custode

de l'ordre de St. François." This document is different from the *Verdadera Relacion* of Perea, published at Seville in 1632, translated into English and published by Lansing B. Bloom, "Fray Estévan de Perea's *Relación*," *New Mexico Historical Review*, VIII, 1933, 211-235.

6 Carte du Nouveau Mexique dressée sur ces mémoires et autres écrits sur les lieux et principalement sur les memoires du C^{te} de Pignalosse.

The title of the manuscript original of this map reads: "Carte du Nouveau Mexique tirée des Relations de Mons^r le Comte de Peñalossa qui en a esté gouuerneur en 1665 du manuscrit du pere Esteuan de Perea custode de l'ord[re] de Saint francois dans le mesme pays et d'autres memoires escrits sur les lieux," SHB, B 4049-28. W. Lowery, *Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions*, Washington, D. C., 1912, 200, no. 225, dates it "1700?" but it was certainly made before 1687, because Coronelli used it to draw his *Le Nouveau Mexique appellé aussi Nouvelle Grenade et Marata*. . . . A Paris. Chez J. B. Nolin . . . Auec Privilege du Roy. 168 [sic]. The last digit of the date should be a "7," because this map was one of the first published by Nolin after Coronelli transferred his privilege to him, January 8, 1687. In a note in the second cartouche, Coronelli repeats what is said in the title of the manuscript map. Lowery observes that the map is anonymous, as a matter of fact it is not signed but the title and the legends are all in the handwriting of Claude Bernou who gave it to Coronelli, and later to Claude Delisle; the latter's tracing is in AN, JJ, 75-270. The memoirs spoken of in the above entry are those of Perea and of Benavides. After a careful examination of the Coronelli published map Joseph-Nicolas Delisle wrote: "L'on ne trouve pas sur cette carte les details qui sont dans la relation du voyage du Comte de Penalossa à Quivira en 1662," ASH, 115-11: no. 4. A, namely, in the *Relacion del descubrimiento del Pais y Ciudad de Quivira echo por D. Diego Dionisio de Peñalosa, escrito por el Padre Fr. Nicolas de Freytas*, which was presented to Seignelay in 1684.

7 Relation des missions faites dans le Nouveau Mexique par les Jesuites tiree des journaux d'Italie.

This is perhaps the Brevis Relatio Missionum S. J. published in the *Giornale dei Letterati* for 1692.

8 Carte M. S. d'une p^{te} du nouveau Mexique faite par le P. Kino Jes. et envoiee à M. Regis par M. le Duc d'Escalone qui m'a été communiquée.

On this map cf. H. E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom*, New York, 1936, 566-569 and 607-608. "M. Regis" is Pierre-Sylvain Regis, see Fontenelle, *Oeuvres*, 7 volumes, London, 1785, III, 131-146; the Duc

d'Escalone is the Duque de Escalona who later became Viceroy of Naples. The De Fer map spoken of by Bolton is dated 1700 and was published in the first edition of *L'Atlas curieux*, 1705 is the date of the second edition. The draft of the letter to Regis in ASH, 115-17 C, should be dated June 1700; see *Journal des Scavans*, May 24, 1700, 214.

9 Route des Espagnols quand ils allerent chasser les françois de la Baye de St. Louis tirée des memoires de M. d'Iberville.

This is the itinerary of the De León expedition of 1689; H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest 1542-1706*, New York, 1930, 388-404. The map made by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, AGI, 61-6-21(2), is entitled "Camino que el año de 1689 hizo el Gouernador Alonso de Leon desde Cuahuila hasta hallar cerca del Lago de S^a Bernardo el lugar done havian poblado los Franceses." Bernou secured a copy of this map, simplified it, translated the directions and distances into French and gave it the following title: "Route que firent les Espagnols pour venir enlever les françois restez a la Baye S Bernard ou S^t Louis aprez la perte du vaisseau de M^r de la Salle en 1689," *Cartes et Plans*, 14, 99. As for its being taken from the memoirs of Iberville, I have not found in the extant writings of Iberville sufficient data for the drawing of this route. De León's journey is sketchily indicated on a manuscript map of 1699, SHB, C 4044-45, as well as on a variant of it, SHB, C 4040-2, and also on an anonymous "Carte du Mississipy," ASH, 138^{bis}-1-3. It does not appear on the printed map of 1703, although it is shown by a double dotted line on two drafts of it, AN, JJ, 75-253 and SHB, C 4040-4, but Guillaume Delisle inserted the route in his published map of 1718.

Notes and Comment

If you are one of the members of the American Historical Association who passed up Guy Stanton Ford's article entitled "Your Business," in *The American Historical Review* for April 1943, you missed what we consider several editorial gems. This report of the Executive Secretary is in general an interesting and stimulating approach to the subject of historical activities. It will go far toward inspiring members of the Association to a personal concern about the many-sided business of the Association. Clearly, the business of the Association is no longer a flat, printed balance sheet, which one might look at unseeingly and set aside as none of his business. One of the editorial gems (page 462 to 464) pertains to the hubbub being stirred especially in our East about the teaching (or lack thereof) of history in colleges, about which we bandied some words in the January number of *MID-AMERICA* under the title of "Alarms in History." If the specter of legislation to control the teaching of history in schools and colleges is again haunting the minds of super-patriots it will be the personal business of the Association to lay the ghost once and for all by a national campaign similar to that of James K. Hosmer and Dr. Ford in Minnesota after the last war. Historians will indeed fail their trust to American history if they enlist in the cause of the misguided agitators mentioned by Dr. Ford.

Joseph Schafer, Student of Agriculture, a brochure, has been published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, under the direction of the present superintendent, Edward P. Alexander. It is a deserved tribute to the memory of the man who for twenty years from 1920 was superintendent of the same Society. After a Foreword by Mr. Alexander, Louis Phelps Kellogg tells of "Joseph Schafer, the Historian," and Clarence B. Lester describes "Joseph Schafer, the Man." Then follows a "Bibliography of the Writings of Joseph Schafer," efficiently compiled by Everett E. Edwards and Thomas J. Maycock. Why this renowned professor of history with so many and varied interests and writings within this field should be designated as a student of agriculture, is told (page 24) by Mr. Lester: ". . . an abiding love for the land . . . colored all his work." The many people who knew the late Dr. Schafer will be glad to see this publication.

Regarding present-day conditions and trends in Brazil, two recent publications should be mentioned: *Brazil in the Making*, by José Jobim (The Macmillan Company, New York, pp. 318), and *Brazil 1940-41, An Economic, Social, and Geographic Survey* (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, pp. 382).

Brazil in the Making, says Senor Jobim in his introduction, "comprising a series of short descriptive units, attempts to make clear, in compact form, the principal aspects of Brazilian industry, . . ." The purpose is carried out by means of carefully marshalled statistics agreeably presented through some three hundred pages. The result is a very handy introduction to the industry and commerce of Brazil. The frank statements of problems and deficiencies is typical of the intelligent fashion in which Brazilian writers appraise their country and express their realistic attitude toward the state of its progress. There is no hiding of skeletons, nor is there exaggeration or boasting. And, from the statistics on the progress of Brazil in all lines of endeavor, Senor Jobim would have been pardoned a little boasting. One may have confidence in this work for its honesty.

Brazil 1940-41, edited by Senor Jobim, is a far more elaborate yearbook than any of its predecessors. The charts, tables of statistics, and data are put in an historical setting. It is a notable collaborative effort covering almost every phase of Brazilian activity: climate, soil, man, geography, history, immigration, armed forces, foreign policy, education, labor and social legislation, social medicine, civil service, and budget, in ninety-two pages, and production, manufacturing, trade, finance, transport, and communication as the body of the work.

Thus, in two forms, commercial men, prospective investors, industrialists, tourists, economists, and historians have at hand in greater and less detail two serviceable accounts of the great South American empire.

Statistics are one way of telling a story. As they appear in these books they tell a story of great significance. Brazil, following its newer policy of self-sufficiency and scrapping the national notions of mere self-sustenance, is well along in its transition toward industrialization. Raw products will continue to be exported, but more and more are they being used in manufactures within the nation. While there is yet a deficiency in precision equipment, machinery, instruments, and some raw materials, much progress is apparent, despite wartime limitations on importations. Economically, and socially, Brazil is no longer "a desert of men and ideas." Lessons of the last war, especially regarding the overemphasis upon coffee as the chief sustaining item, have been well learned, to say nothing of those deriving from the Depression. Brazil during the past ten years has undergone a complete economic, political, and social transformation, and it faces the future with remarkably broad vision.

Of all things, in this time of world crises and thundering guns, there appears Volume I, Number 1, of *Tlalocan*, a Journal of Source Materials on the Native Cultures of Mexico. The newcomer is introduced in two pages by its co-editors, R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor, and promptly begins its publication of documents. The scholar-

ship behind the editions of materials is of a high order. Besides three noted Mexican scholars, the board of editorial advisors has the names of Carl Sauer and Paul Radin. The journal is published by The House of Tlaloc, 1725 Vallejo Way, Sacramento (14), California.

From the same publishers comes a very scholarly work, *Nombre de Dios, Durango*, which consists of two documents in Náhuatl concerning the foundation of that city, edited by R. H. Barlow and George T. Smisor. These are the "Memorial of the Indians Concerning Their Services," written about 1563, and the "Agreement of the Mexican and the Michoacanos," made in 1585. The documents and their translations face each other in the beautifully printed pages. This book, only 103 pages including bibliography, three appendices, and index, will become a rare item, since the edition is numbered and is limited to 130 copies.

Unfortunately, too few people will be able to handle the volume or use its contents, just as too few students have utilized the works of Dr. Carl Sauer on the geography and anthropology of the Mexican northwest. The reason for the neglect will be sought for by the next generation, which will marvel that more students did not get interested sooner in this great field. Other studies will offer new leads in the field of human geography, and other writers will carve similar fine contributions from the many raw materials already gathered by the geographers of the University of California. This documentary account of the foundation of the little city of Durango may seem a luxury study in these our days, but it is a significant proof of the progress being made in an ever widening field.

The *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* for April 1943 contains a "book" in article form, namely, "The German Drama on the Early New Orleans Stage," by Arthur H. Moehlenbrock. Originally a dissertation it now runs from page 361 to 627 in print including an appendix of all the known theatrical performances presented in German in New Orleans from 1839 to 1890, which runs for 173 pages. The significance of this rather elaborate publication lies in the attitude of the Louisiana Historical Society to publish in as much detail as possible the studies and documents pertaining to the history of the State.

Book Reviews

Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572. By Edward J. McCarthy. The Catholic University of America, Studies in Hispanic-American History, Vol. III. Washington, 1943. Pp. ix, 145.

Despite the extensive publication of sources for the history of the Spaniards in the Philippines, these materials have been relatively little used by historians. In this slim volume, a doctoral dissertation, Father McCarthy relies primarily upon the two principal collections of printed documents, Blair and Robertson's *The Philippine Islands* and the *Colección de documentos inéditos . . . de ultramar*, to tell the story of Spanish beginnings in the period ending with the death of Miguel López de Legazpi.

The book begins with an introductory chapter which recalls, perhaps in unnecessary detail, the familiar story of the first exploits of Portuguese and Spanish oceanic exploration. Of more immediate concern for an understanding of the establishment of Spanish power in the Philippines is the author's survey of the preliminary Spanish trans-Pacific voyages and the Spanish-Portuguese diplomacy which sought to delimit the oriental spheres of activity of these two nations. The story proper gets under way with a more detailed account of the preliminaries and accomplishments of the Legazpi expedition from New Spain to the Philippines in 1564-65. Subsequent chapters recount the history of the difficult early days on the islands of Cebú and Panay; the relations with the indignant Portuguese, who not without reason considered the Spanish settlement in the Philippines as a breach of their treaty rights; the removal of the main Spanish settlement to Manila; and the spiritual conquest of the Philippine natives by the Augustinian friars who accompanied Legazpi. A final chapter seeks to assess the significance of Legazpi's role in the larger history of Spanish expansion.

Father McCarthy's work gives evidence of extensive use of available documents. There is some doubt, however, whether basic secondary accounts—such as W. L. Schurz's *Manila Galleon*, for example—have been exploited to full advantage. Several "blind spots" in the book leave the reader dissatisfied. Thus, for instance, "the chief thing attempted" in Legazpi's voyage, according to his instructions from the Audiencia of Mexico, was to be the discovery of a practicable return route from the Orient across the Pacific to New Spain. Yet the return voyage under Fray Andrés de Urdaneta and Felipe de Salcedo, which was destined to establish the route of the Philippine galleons for the next two and a half centuries, is dismissed in a short paragraph (p. 35). Similarly, there is evidence that before his death

Legazpi had laid plans for making the Philippines the entrepôt for a thriving trade between China and New Spain, yet there are only scattered references to this all-important subject. In short, the volume by no means exploits all phases of Spanish beginnings in the Philippines. Finally, it should be noted that the book contains numerous inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the matter of Spanish and Portuguese spelling and, in particular, accentuation.

JAMES FERGUSON KING

Northwestern University

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, Volume V, The End of the Spanish Regime. By Carlos E. Castañeda. Von Boeckmann-Jones Company, Austin, Texas, 1942. Pp. 514. Illustrated.

Delayed by a series of circumstances including the death of the beloved historian and editor-in-chief, Father Paul J. Foik, this book was worth waiting for. The new editor, James P. Gibbons, C. S. C., chairman of the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission sponsoring the project, has carried out very well the standards set in the earlier volumes. So also has Dr. Castañeda, historiographer of the Commission. With the sixth volume Dr. Castañeda will conclude his contribution to the seven-volume opus at the year 1836. The final pages bringing the narrative to 1936 are to be written by another member of the Commission. The shelf is to be completed by 1944.

The End of the Spanish Regime is concerned with all aspects of Texas affairs from 1770 to 1810. The broad outlines of the story appear in the chapter headings. Within this frame the topical form is followed. The opening is a description of Spain's attempt to meet the English menace to her frontier by means of administrative reforms and new policies with respect to the Christianization of the Indians. Plans for subduing the Apaches and for winning friendly trade relations with the surrounding tribes of the Interior Provinces were made. A fear of aggression on the part of the new United States was a spur to defensive action. The effect of Spain's new program, especially the economic, upon the Texas population decrease during the last quarter of the eighteenth century is revealed. And the population in Spain's three centers of power was only 2,819 in 1783!

The three following chapters are devoted to the secularization of the missions in the 1790's, the establishment of new missions, and the last attempt at utilizing the missionary for the control of the Indians. These pages are carved practically from source materials, and are climaxed by the exposition of the Alberola hoax. Chapter five has to do with the establishment of communication lines, as a unifying element, between San Antonio and Santa Fe, St. Louis, Natchez, and the eastern Texas frontier settlements. This is followed by two excellent chapters on military, missionary, social, and economic conditions to

1800, with a lively account of such topics as James Wilkinson's schemes, Indian hostilities, coastal explorations, and illicit trade. Spain's fear of foreign intruders hangs over all as a great shadow. The next chapter in fifty-three pages narrates of the Louisiana Purchase and of the first clashes with adventurers, filibusters, and traders from the United States. The mission as an agency for keeping the allegiance of the Indians or stemming the incoming tide of foreigners was useless. So too was the mobilization of troops in various centers futile. To save Texas Spain then bethought herself of formal colonization. The difficulties surrounding this project, the restrictions on foreign settlers, the illegal entries, the administrative disagreements, and the stupidity of the Spanish court are given detailed treatment. Moribund Spain was in no position to hold the land let alone exploit its possibilities.

Napoleon by his occupation of Portugal and Spain loomed in backward Texas as a spectre of aggression as large as the United States. The reactions of the French intervention on Texas are recorded by Dr. Castañeda in a very long but interesting chapter. The conclusion is a final survey of conditions on the eve of the Mexican break for independence from Spain, with special emphasis upon the revolutionary temper of the people of the Interior Provinces. The interest remains to the end of the book.

Dr. Castañeda has performed a notable service of organization of materials. Moreover, he has presented scholars with nearly thirty pages of bibliography of manuscript source materials. He has made judicious use of the materials already printed and of the monograph materials. Some other reviewer may find fault with an occasional interpretation or emphasis, but this reviewer thinks the book a very good book.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Indian Villages of the Illinois Country. Illinois State Museum, Scientific Papers, Volume II, Part I, Atlas. Compiled by Sarah Jones Tucker, Springfield, Illinois, 1942. Pp. xiii, 18, liv map plates.

Five years ago a group of specialists in the ethno-history of the Upper Mississippi Valley met to discuss the possibility of forming a permanent organization for the promotion of studies in their field, with especial emphasis on the history of the contacts of the Indians with white men within the limits of the present states of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, and Ohio. This meeting was held in June 1938 and one year later the representatives of twelve institutions (later twenty-two), including both anthropologists and historians, met and adopted a definitive program for which Dr. Fay-Cooper Cole and Dr. Robert Redfield were largely responsible.

The program included three distinct undertakings. The first was the discovery of all relevant documentary materials available. This meant, of course, a systematic search of all accessible archives and libraries for unique or excessively rare material—letters, narratives, maps, drawings, mission reports, traders' records, etc.—and, as well, an examination of the files of little-known newspapers, periodicals, and other printed sources of equal rarity. The second step was to assemble this material, in the form of microfilm or photostatic reproductions, at a convenient center and to put it into working order for the use of students. Finally, important sections of this material were to be edited for publication, when possible.

The University of Chicago and the University of Michigan began work immediately by sending full-time research workers in the field to study, survey, select, and photograph materials. Until 1941 the research at the University of Chicago was carried on by the Department of Anthropology with the aid of funds from the Social Science Research Committee; since 1941 the American Philosophical Society has taken over the entire financial support. Thousands of pages of reproductions of manuscripts have been selected and assembled by Sara Jones Tucker and they are now being arranged under her able supervision. Mrs. Tucker has also produced the first tangible evidence of the general usefulness of the material brought together under this program, in the historical atlas, *Indian Villages of the Illinois Country*. Although she has undertaken the full burden of this compilation, she expresses appreciation to Lieutenant Colonel Thorne Deuel not only for the idea of producing this work but also for the financial management of the publication in such exceptionally fine form.

The atlas contains fifty-four maps, dating from 1671 to 1830, reproduced in collotype. Prefacing the plates are eighteen pages of notes, giving author, title and date of each map, the location and archival number of the original, its size, the scale reduction of the plate, the location of the copy used and, also, what is especially valuable, a brief biographical note of the cartographer when obtainable, a summary of historical events which help to determine the significance of the map, and bibliographical references. It is sometimes unfortunate that the vocabulary and sentence structure of these notes are not more simple. As to the content, limits of time have prevented the compiler from producing definitive information concerning each map, a shortcoming which Mrs. Tucker herself mentions. Eminent specialists, however, have been consulted so that the margin of error might be reduced to as near a minimum as possible. In fact for a person doing anything less than an extraordinarily scholarly work, these notes will supply all the necessary information and, indeed, far more than is provided in any other published map lists, with the possible exception of that published as a preface to Paulin's *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* and the description of Fran-

quelin's maps appearing in the January 1943 MID-AMERICA under the title of "Franquelin, Mapmaker." Furthermore, the bibliographical references give a starting point for any one who wishes to check facts or to delve further. Some specialists may notice the absence of certain maps and wonder why others have been included. But a choice had to be made and the compiler admits both omissions and possible differences of opinion concerning the relative importance of materials. It must also be emphasized, in this connection, that this volume is to be accompanied by another which will contain manuscript texts; the texts have suggested the maps here included.

This first publication is very useful for historical, ethnological, and cartographical research and it deserves a high place as an extremely valuable reference sheaf of maps, well done.

RUTH LAPHAM BUTLER

The Newberry Library

The Progress of Pan-Americanism, A Historical Survey of Latin-American Opinion. Translated and edited by T. H. Reynolds. The Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1942. Pp. 418.

This is the third of a series of books designed by Professor Reynolds as an aid in acquainting North Americans with the South American mind. When our President and our Department of State committed this country officially to the Good Neighbor Policy, it was clear that the American public should be informed about the republics involved in the commitment, especially as regards their way of thinking. Hence, there has arisen a great interest in the obligations of our new role and in the historical antecedents which have brought us to the status of united nations. Seeing the need of a convenient volume for orientating the thought of laymen and college students Professor Reynolds has gathered together a number of articles, addresses, and proceedings of various inter-American conferences.

The articles selected from different Latin American periodicals and news columns for translation into English are stimulating. So many phases of the inter-American relations are touched upon that it presumably seemed impossible to arrange a suitable index to the book. By using smaller type in the text, still smaller in many of the quotations, and twenty-eight pica lines, a very great amount of material has been compressed into the four hundred pages. The articles are grouped topically, under chapter numbers, though there is no table of contents to aid in finding them. Bibliographies appear after some of the articles.

All in all, there is little to criticize in a book of this kind. It is meant to be a service, and Dr. Reynolds is to be commended for rendering such a service in compact form. Readers here will find the viewpoints and utterances of the leading statesmen and economists of

North and South America. They will come to a better appreciation of the great political, economic, social, and cultural problems. They will see what steps have been taken and what programs toward consolidating the Americas are in progress. They will meet with the agencies established for the conduct of the programs, and with the foreign and South American thought regarding them.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

Principles for Peace. Edited by Harry C. Koenig, S. T. D. National Catholic Welfare Council, Washington, D. C., 1943. Pp. xxv, 894.

This volume contains a timely and valuable presentation of source material, chronologically arranged from 1878, consisting of selected utterances—encyclicals, homilies, exhortations, and allocutions—of Leo XIII, Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI, and Pius XII. A concise biography of each of these Popes precedes the documents pertaining to his reign. Father Koenig has made a special effort to concentrate on those documents which during this period reflect the views of the Church on world conditions, with especial emphasis upon their relationship to world peace. The *sine qua non* for any new world order is clearly set forth in these papal pronouncements. No more keen and incisive diagnosis of the ills that have befallen human society during the modern era is to be found anywhere. Repeatedly were statesmen and people warned long in advance of the two World Wars. President Roosevelt in an address in Chicago some years ago similarly warned the world, yet long before Pius X, Benedict XV, and Pius XI foresaw in its grim details the approaching calamity of mechanized warfare.

More than any other agency the Vicars of Christ have realized that the evils of mankind have not always resulted exclusively from the designs of unscrupulous leaders, whether designated as Caesar, Napoleon, Kaiser, or dictator, but that causes of disastrous movements lie much deeper. Behind international and municipal law is the moral code as applied to individual conduct, requiring a ready recognition by each person of fixed and determinate standards of right and wrong instead of that vague, indeterminate, uncertain code referred to by some philosophers as the "mores" of the community. The fundamental principles of the moral law have suffered no compromise on the part of the Popes, and even the more retiring Popes have been adamant in adhering to them and eloquent in propounding them. Social evils have been called to the attention of all states. The papacy has unceasingly urged action to better the world according to principles of justice and charity. Clearly, both Benedict XV and Pius XI approved of an international arrangement for the preservation of world order and peace. Both saw the shoals of destruction toward which the ideals of Woodrow Wilson were headed. After the last war, "Peace, indeed,

was signed in the solemn conclave," said Pius XI. But "It was not written in the hearts of men."

The many official papal pronouncements are truly remarkable, for their incisiveness and vision, and, be it said, for the manner in which they went unheeded by the world. In the present conflict they should be studied deeply and effectively. During the past war no such volume was published. Now, through the painstaking work of Father Koenig, principles for a lasting peace may be read widely. Archbishop Samuel A. Stritch of Chicago and the Bishop's Committee on the Pope's Peace Points are to be complimented for their foresight in sponsoring the edition of this exceedingly pertinent contribution to the discussions on world reconstruction. Let us hope that it will be a potent factor in influencing for good the men ultimately responsible for the making of peace.

JOHN A. ZVETINA

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MID-AMERICA

VOLUME XXV

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